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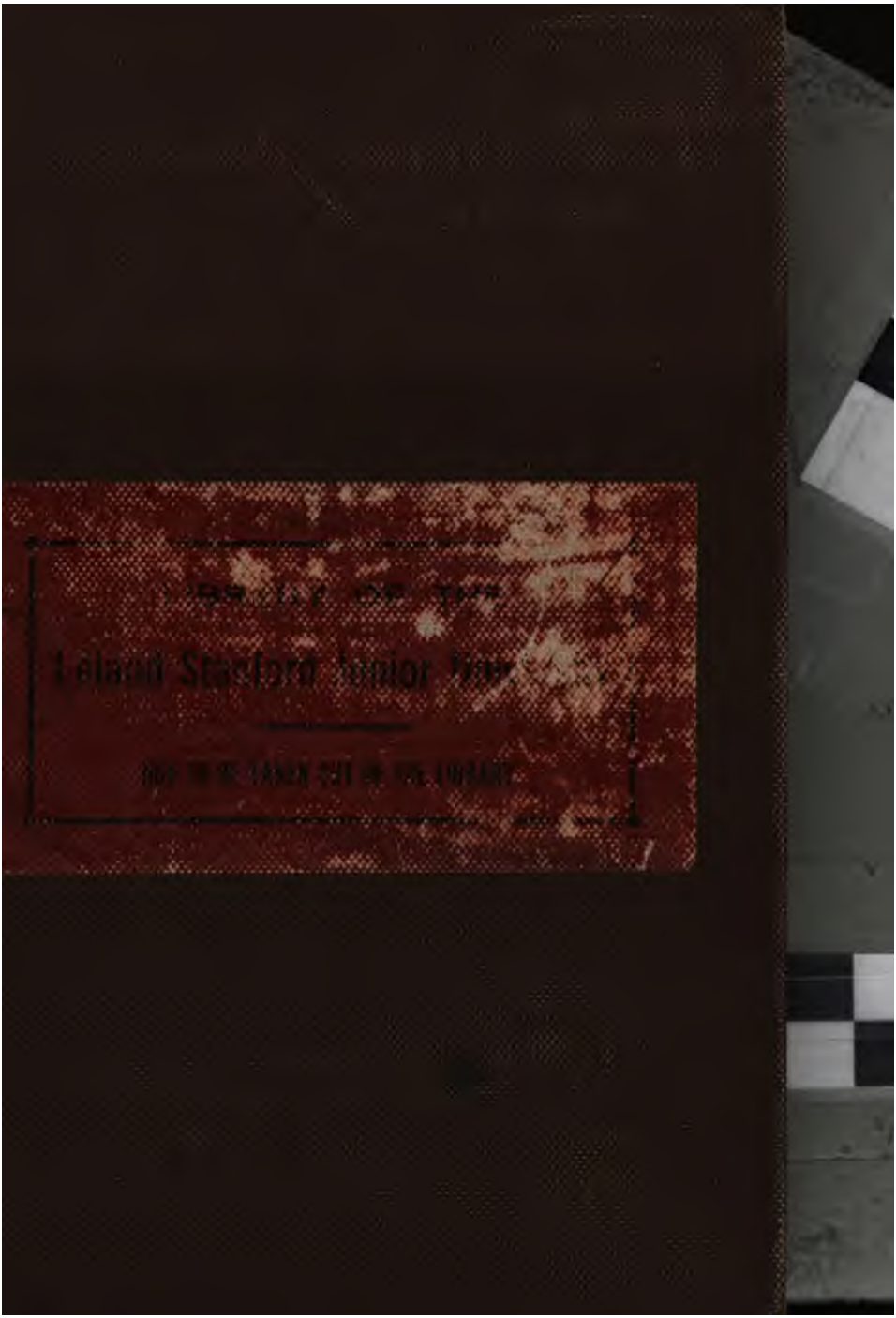
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Leland Stanford Junior

T36

A HISTORY

OF

THE KANSAS CRUSADE

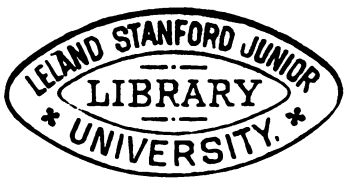
ITS FRIENDS AND ITS FOES

By ELI THAYER

INTRODUCTION BY

REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D.

NEW YORK
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1889



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Dedicated

TO

CHARLES ROBINSON

THE LEADER OF THE FREE STATE PARTY IN THE KANSAS
TERRITORIAL CONFLICT, AND THE EFFICIENT
WAR-GOVERNOR OF THE STATE

ALSO

TO ALL MY OTHER COMRADES AND HELPERS IN THE
GREAT CRUSADE WHO STILL SURVIVE, AND
TO THE HONORED MEMORY OF THOSE
WHO HAVE DEPARTED

ELI THAYER

PREFACE.

THE purpose of this book is to show by what agency Kansas was made a free State, and how this result has affected our national life.

This triumph of the North was regarded by slave-holders as ample proof that there could never be another slave State in the Union. Hence came the attempt to secede, the Civil War, and the Emancipation Proclamation as "a military necessity." Hence came also an enduring national unity having no conflicting sectional interests.

The great Kansas struggle was therefore the pivot on which this nation turned to a nobler development and to a higher and happier condition of all its people. The consequences of this triumph of freedom are becoming more and more apparent with each succeeding year.

A period longer than is allowed for one generation of men has passed since this contest began—more than a quarter of a century has gone since it was ended. It may therefore be demanded why there has been so long delay in making public record of the methods which have brought us such beneficent results.

The Civil War engrossed the attention of all the people for nearly five years. Since the war the

various actors in it have been constantly putting their own achievements in writing for the public use. The present, therefore, is the first time when the great cause of the wonderful political changes of the last thirty years, and the powerful agency which has brought us to our present high position, could be wisely presented for public consideration.

There has never been any danger that false conclusions about either the agency or its methods could secure a permanent place in history. The contemporaneous records of this great work are in every city and State of the Union. They abound in all the Congressional records of the time, in the messages of Presidents, in the reports of committees of Congress, in many histories, and in the files of innumerable newspapers, magazines, and periodicals of various kinds. So, whatever ephemeral indorsement any false claims might be able to secure the careful study of future historians would be certain to expose, while it would establish, vindicate, and fortify the truth. Justice, though slow, would in this case be sure.

The records of geology, written upon the rocks hidden deep in the earth, have established, as facts disputed by none, the early history of men, of animals, and of vegetation to have been entirely different from the ideas prevalent a few centuries ago.

So this present writing might be still further postponed, or even abandoned, without any danger of the truths herein presented being lost in perpetual oblivion. It will, however, save labor to the historian of the future, and much perplexity to the

present generation, to have at hand such a summary of facts as is here recorded. Another great advantage of deferring this work no longer is the fact that thousands of men are now living who were earnest, interested, and intelligent spectators of these events, or determined and heroic actors in them, who will cheerfully bear witness to the truth of these statements and to the logical conclusions derived from them.

This is intended to be only a summary of the events preceding the Civil War. Materials are at hand sufficient to fill several volumes; but a work so extensive would seldom reach the ordinary reader. It has been deemed best, therefore, by careful selection and condensation, to put the main features of this history within the compass of a single volume. Within this narrow limit it will not be possible to describe the conflict within the Territory of Kansas, but only the agency and the methods employed outside of her boundaries, by which the people of the Northern States were aroused and united so as effectually to co-operate in furnishing the men and the means to secure the triumph there of the free-State cause.

Prof. L. W. Spring, in his "Kansas," has given a very full and reliable history of the Territorial struggle, culminating in the establishment of a free State unsurpassed in moral, intellectual, and material prosperity. Such success was well earned by the heroic, self-sacrificing pioneers who put before the advancing and encroaching power of slavery the impassable barrier of themselves and of the

trophies of free labor by which they were surrounded. Thus have they proved to the world the strength of freedom and the imbecility of slavery.

In giving a truthful account of the Kansas crusade, it was necessary to speak plainly of our allies and also of our enemies. How could a truthful history of the Revolutionary War be written unless the writer should describe the obstacles which our patriots overcame in securing independence? It would not be enough to write only of the British and the Continentals. The Tories, our enemies, and the French, our allies, should have prominent places. So in this history Garrison and his followers are properly put among the enemies of the Kansas crusade, while the clergy, the churches, and the Press of the North are, for abundant reasons, recorded as our friends and helpers.

But the Tories of Revolutionary times were very modest people compared with the disunionists who opposed the Kansas crusade. Of the former, some left the country and others repented and remained. None of them had the impudence to claim that they secured the independence of the colonies. Had they done so, the rage of the Continentals would have extinguished them and their claims together.

But these disunionists and their friends, during the last quarter of a century, have been parading claims quite as baseless and absurd.

It is time that such nonsense came to an end. It is time that such impudent falsifying of history should be rebuked. But for these false claims, so

persistently and defiantly presented that many of the present generation believe them true, the writer would have devoted no time or attention to these fanatics. They were too feeble to harm our cause, and their efforts to do so were pitiful indeed. Had they been a thousand times as powerful as they were, they could not have hindered our organized army of freemen who ended the curse of slavery.

But the time has now come when their grotesque dishonesty in opposing the Kansas crusade, and then in claiming as their own work the grand results achieved by its heroes, should not longer be endured in silence.

ELI THAYER.

WORCESTER, MASS., 1889.

INTRODUCTION.

MR. THAYER has been good enough to permit me to contribute a few words to this volume, which will be printed, I believe, as an introduction. We are two old soldiers in this emigration cause, and it is a real pleasure to me to speak of him who planned the whole movement with such distinct knowledge of what was needed, and carried out his plans with such promptness and success. I am more proud of my part in the settlement of Kansas, though it was only that of a subordinate, than I am of any public service I have ever rendered. I can well suppose that he is proud of his as the successful leader. And I should be sorry not to say, on all occasions, that to him the work owed its success, and the nation owes all that grew from that success.

As early as 1845 I had looked to emigration from the North as the solution of the slavery problems. I heard from the galleries of House and Senate in Washington the debates on the Joint Resolution which annexed Texas. I was in Washington that winter, and in its social circles, let me say, I was in a position to suspect something of the infamous corruption by which the passage of that resolution was bought. I returned to New

England, which was my home, in March, 1845, and at once wrote and published a pamphlet called "How to Conquer Texas before Texas Conquers Us." It proposed a Northern emigration to Texas, which I was ready to join. I hoped it would quicken attention, that settlers would offer themselves, and that we should make the Mayflower company for the redemption of that region. In this hope I was wholly disappointed. I paid for the printing of my pamphlet, and I own the edition now. I have never heard that one copy was bought by any one, far less that one was read.

The truth was that I did not know how to organize emigration, and probably also that "the time was not yet come."

But in the spring of 1854 the hour had come—and the man. That man was Eli Thayer, who was, fortunately, in the Legislature of Massachusetts; well known as a pronounced and eloquent Free-soiler. The young men of the country—I can speak for one of them—were wholly sick of talk; they hated "resolutions," and they wanted to do something. Eli Thayer showed what was to be done, and arranged the way.

It is very curious that the method of organizing emigration which he invented had never been hit upon before. It is the only method yet tried which secures entire freedom to the emigrant, and gives at the same time the use of capital contributed by people who do not emigrate, and the advantages of a central, intelligent supervision. The settler must be left free. It was not meant to tie

his hands in a wilderness. It was not meant to sacrifice comfort and to risk life for the purpose of earning money for people who stay at home. On the other hand, there must be capital, if the colony is not to be fatally handicapped, from the beginning. And every colony which is started without central and intelligent supervision shows in its after-development the unfortunate consequences. Such consequences may be seen in the history of the development of most of our Western States.

Under Mr. Thayer's plan the emigrant paid his own fare, but he paid it with the advantages the company had gained for him in making the lowest contracts possible among competing lines. He went where he chose. But if he chose he could go in a party of people of like habits and opinions, led by a competent leader who knew the route. He settled where he pleased. But if he pleased he might take from the Government of the United States his quarter section by the side of those taken by his companions, and in the neighborhood of the mills built by the company's capital.

Now, in that enterprise the essential thing, as was proved at once, was the mutual support which the Northern settlers gave each other. The annals of Kansas are full of stories of the cruel deaths of settlers who trusted themselves alone to the separate squatter loneliness of the old Western ways. This time there were enemies more terrible than Shawnees or Pawnees. And who shall say how many horrors of arson and murder in the wilderness are not written in any annals?

On the other hand, the people in Mr. Thayer's colonies, in all their hardships, hung by each other. We used to head our placards "Saw-mills and Liberty" when we called a public meeting in New England. And the very names of "Lawrence," "Topeka," and other towns founded by the New England Emigrant Aid Company under Mr. Thayer's plans, stand out as central names in any adequate history of that time.

I was chosen as one of the younger directors of the company, and was afterwards its vice-president, and had an opportunity, therefore, to see the unflinching spirit with which Mr. Thayer carried out his plans, and the untiring activity with which he drove them through. What has happened in thirty-four years since is this: Under his plans four or five thousand of the most resolute men and women whom the world ever saw together went into Kansas. Five or ten times that number went also, encouraged by this example, and confident in their success. This emigration at that time would have been impossible but for Eli Thayer. The first result was civil war in Kansas. The second was the success of the free-State settlers. The third was the election of Abraham Lincoln. A minor result was that the infant State of Kansas, only admitted into the Union by Lincoln's first Congress, furnished more fighting men, in proportion to her population, to the Union army than any other State. As for the change — absolute and sweeping—from Southern domination over America to the Northern successes which took the

helm of the country after 1861, it is needless to speak.

Now that it is all over, it is convenient for every public man to remember the share he has taken in this work, and to congratulate himself and the country on this share. That is natural enough, and fair. It is natural also to say, "All this must have come. It is the regular flow of history. The moment had come for action and reaction, and so forth, and so forth." All this is true. But it is equally true that when the reservoir of Northern indignation was still a reservoir, with its rage wasted on its banks, one man saw where the spade-blows were to be struck through which the waters should rush out. He knew how to strike these blows—struck them with his own hands—and made the channel through which the waters flowed; and that man was Eli Thayer.

When people say "Quite of course — it must come," I wish they would remember that even the judiciary committee which gave him the charter he asked in a Free-soil Legislature thought the whole thing was nonsense. I wish they would remember that he had to "hire a hall," to use our fine American proverb, in the city of Boston, and to pay for it with his own money, before the people of Boston or of any place could be taught that here was a practical scheme in which they could spend their energies.

After he had shown the way, there were enough brave men who joined him. Not at first in crowds; but such men count each for a great deal, and

there were enough. Such men as Amos A. Lawrence, J. M. S. Williams, Martin Brimmer, Samuel Cabot, John Carter Brown, George L. Stearns—who give themselves when they give their money—push an enterprise steadily, and if it ought to succeed it does succeed. The simplicity, the directness, the truth and audacity of Mr. Thayer enlisted such men. But, for one such man who was enlisted, a hundred as rich as they, and as strong in a way, if it had been the right way, refused. They had the chance and they did not take it. It is always so. "Many are called," and only a handful choose themselves to the forlorn-hope — or "are chosen."

Now that it is all over, the men who fell into line in 1856 and 1859 and 1861 think they fell in in 1854. It is not of much importance to them or to anybody. But for the truth of history it is important to remember that Eli Thayer first saw how to work, that he first showed it to America, and that he led the way.

I resist the temptation to make extracts from an immense correspondence of those early years, which would show who did believe, and who did not believe, in Mr. Thayer's enterprise. But the following letters, of a more recent date, are so interesting and instructive that I like to include them in this introductory paper.

Theodore Parker, January 29, 1858, in the Hall of the State-house, spoke as follows:

"Not to mention others from New England or elsewhere, here is a speech from Hon. Eli Thayer, ironical sometimes, I take

it, but plain and direct in substance. He would have the free States send settlers to Northernize the South—already he has a colony in Virginia—and New Englandize Central America. 'The Yankee,' says Mr. Thayer, 'has never become a slave-holder unless he has been forced to it by the social relations of the slave State where he lived; and the Yankee who has become a slave-holder has every day of his life thereafter felt in his very bones the bad economy of the system. Why, sir, we can buy a negro power in a steam-engine for ten dollars, and we can feed and clothe that power for one year for five dollars; are we the men to give $1000 for an African slave, and $150 a year to feed and clothe him?' This is an antislavery argument which traders can understand. Mr. Thayer is not so much of a talker as an organizer; he puts his thoughts into works. You know how much Kansas owes him for the organization he has set on foot. One day will he not also revolutionize Virginia? There is a to-morrow after to-day."

Letters from Theodore Parker to Eli Thayer, after the speeches in Congress on colonizing Central America and the "Suicide of Slavery:"

"BOSTON, *February* 26, 1858.

"*Hon. Mr. Thayer:*

"DEAR SIR,—I heartily thank you for the brave speech you made, and the copy thereof you sent me. It seems to me you have hit the nail on the head; for we can't prevent the spread of an industrious, thoughtful, and enterprising people into the domains of an idle, heedless, and unprogressive people, but can prevent the fitting out of hordes of pirates. We can organize emigration, and send men to the barbarous country who will do much service to themselves, to it, and to us. It seems to me not difficult to prevent slavery in Central America. The races out there have not that immense vigor and love of money which incline the Anglo-Saxon to establish slavery; and they have not the hatred against the negro which marks the Americans. It seems to me that a well-conducted emigration scheme may do for Central America what it has done already for Kansas, and I most heartily thank *you* for adding this service to the other great

ones you have rendered already. Immigration from the free States to Kansas, to Virginia, to Central America, is a most important thing. I hope you will live to accomplish the last as happily as you have before the two first, and at the same time escape the *Presidential Fever.*

"Yours truly,

"THEODORE PARKER."

"BOSTON, *April* 5, 1858.

"*Hon. Mr. Thayer:*

"DEAR SIR,—I thank you heartily for sending me your speech —which I have just read aloud—and still more for *making* the speech itself. You open a new era in the Congressional discussion of slavery. You attack it with wit—light, easy, subtle, and delicate satire. John Q. Adams used satire in his way—and that, too, quite powerfully. But his satire was quantitatively great. Yours is qualitatively nice and fine. There is no reply to such things. Your account of the missionary 'trials, dangers, and sufferings' of the South to convert the heathen is masterly; it is worthy of Dean Swift, but is *finer* and *subtler* than anything I remember from him.

"The more serious part of your speech, too, is quite fine and valuable. I shall look with great interest for the other part of it.

"We want all sorts of weapons to attack slavery with—the heavy breaching artillery, and the light horse which cuts the lines asunder, and routs a whole column before they know the enemy is upon them.

"One day the South will have a deal of trouble from the Pacific R. R. Wherever it is built the Northern men will settle and make free States. And the further south the Road is located, why, the further south will a free State be organized, and it won't be possible to have slave States to the north of it.

"Believe me,

"Yours truly,

"THEODORE PARKER."

Samuel Bowles's editorial in the *Springfield Republican*, October 27, 1856:

"Eli Thayer is the originator, and stands at the head of the great scheme of organized emigration into the Territories. He has not only a national reputation in connection with this, one of the grandest and noblest schemes of the age, but his name is known the world over. The border ruffians know him, and the Washington ruffians as well."

The following is an extract from a letter of one of the directors of the Emigrant Aid Company and a most liberal benefactor of Kansas:

"Kansas was made a free State through the agency of the Emigrant Aid Company, and Eli Thayer was the getter-up, and the life, body, and soul of it; and after giving great credit to Mr. Lawrence for his liberal benefactions to the object, Mr. Thayer was the agency, living and moving, which put the enterprise through.

"W. B. SPOONER."

Letter of Amos A. Lawrence to the Old Settlers' meeting in Bismarck Grove, Lawrence, Kansas, September, 1877:

"Eli Thayer preached up the Kansas crusade. He originated and organized the Emigrant Aid Society in opposition to the Southern statesmen and politicians. Early in 1854, several months before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, he wrote the charter of that company, and secured its passage through the Massachusetts Legislature, of which he was a member. It was he more than any other who turned the tide of Northern emigration that year, and made Kansas a free State. He traversed the Northern States and aroused the people, depicting the glories of that country, and urging the emigrants not to turn away from it, but to go and possess it. He never faltered in his faith, and he inspired confidence everywhere.

"A. A. LAWRENCE."

Redpath's Diary, *New York Independent*, December 16, 1875:

"Charles Sumner said, in January, 1857:

"'The State of Kansas should be named Thayer. I would rather accomplish what he has done than have won the victory at New Orleans.'"

EDWARD E. HALE.

39 Highland Street, Roxbury, Mass.,
March 15, 1889.

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THE KANSAS CRUSADE.

CHAPTER I.

THE REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE, AND ITS EFFECT UPON THE NORTH.—THE YEAR 1854 AN EPOCH.

History gives abundant proof that a brief period of time has often determined the character and destiny of a nation. Such a period is properly called its controlling or dominating epoch.

In the history of our own country the year 1854 holds this commanding position, and governs all our subsequent years. It was in this year that the Slave Power attained its highest eminence, and demolished the last barrier that stood in the way of its complete supremacy and its perpetual dominion. The executive, the legislative, and the judicial departments of the Government were entirely within its power. Not content, however, with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which opened all our vast Territorial possessions to Slavery; not content with its well-assured and absolute power within our national boundaries, it aspired to annex other countries, and under its direful rule to

build up a vast empire "on the corner-stone of Slavery."

In the same year, 1854, a power before unknown in the world's history was created and brought into use to save to Freedom all our Territories, then open by law to the possession and dominion of Slavery. This new power was an ORGANIZED, SELF-SACRIFICING EMIGRATION. Its mission was to dispute with Slavery every square foot of land exposed to its control. A hand-to-hand conflict was to decide between the system of free labor and the system of slave labor.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, in May, 1854, proved that the legislative restriction of Slavery was simply a delusion, and that the contest between Freedom and Slavery, if such a contest were yet possible, must be carried on outside of legislative halls. It must be a contest on the prairies, and the power victorious there would, in due time, govern the country.

Was it possible to bring these two kinds of civilization to a decisive struggle? Was it possible to arouse the North to effective resistance after more than thirty years of continuous defeat by the South?

During all this period of the successful aggression and increasing strength of Slavery there was in the North corresponding apprehension and alarm. On the repeal of the Missouri Compromise the apprehension became despondency, and the alarm became despair.

While this proposed measure, embodied in the

Kansas-Nebraska Bill, was pending before Congress the Northern States became a scene of unprecedented resentment, agitation, and alarm. Clergymen in New England and other localities protested against the measure "in the name of Almighty God." The people, of all grades and conditions, with patriotic impulse, gathered in halls, in churches, and school-houses to put on record their fierce denunciation of the "unparalleled swindle." The entire North was one boiling caldron of indignation. Burning patriotism burst forth in fiery words, made still more emphatic by acts of graphic significance, which caused Stephen A. Douglas, the champion of the bill, to say, "I could travel from Boston to Chicago by the light of my own burning effigies." William Cullen Bryant said at this time in the New York *Evening Post:* "If this paper were three times its present size, and if it were issued three times a day instead of once, we could not then have space enough to record the action of patriotic meetings throughout the Northern States protesting against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill."

What was the reason for this universal excitement? Why all this vehemence of language and of action? It was all based upon the general conviction in the North that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise not only doomed Kansas and Nebraska to slavery, but also put the whole country under the domination of the "Black Power" for centuries to come.

In all the numerous protesting mass-meetings and conventions the orators were mostly conservative men who had never felt the emasculating power of sentimental ideas upon the slavery question. They were sturdy patriots, however, as were also their audiences.

The protesting meeting in Boston was held in Faneuil Hall on the afternoon of the 23d of February, 1854. Although a fierce snow-storm was raging nearly five thousand citizens assembled in the old Cradle of Liberty, and expressed their "surprise and alarm" at the proposed "breach of faith" and "national dishonor." As this meeting may be taken as a sample of thousands of others, its organization, and extracts from its speeches and resolutions, are here given:

[*From the Boston Daily Advertiser.*]

MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL TO PROTEST AGAINST THE REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE, ON THE AFTERNOON OF FEBRUARY 23, 1854.

President.—Hon. Samuel A. Eliot.

Vice-Presidents.—Hon. J. V. C. Smith, Mayor of Boston; Hon. James Adams, Mayor of Charlestown; Hon. James D. Green, Mayor of Cambridge; Hon. Linus B. Comins, Mayor of Roxbury; Hon. Daniel C. Baker, Mayor of Lynn; Hon. Asahel Huntington, Mayor of Salem; Hon. Benjamin Gorham, Hon. Nathan Appleton, Hon. Abbot Lawrence, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, late members of Congress; Hon. Charles Wells, Hon. Josiah Quincy, Jr., Hon. John P. Bigelow, late Mayors of Boston; and more than fifty others of the most influential citizens of Boston.

This meeting resolved: "That the propositions now pending in Congress for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise have justly filled our community with surprise and alarm.

"That we protest against such repeal as a deliberate breach of the plighted faith of the nation, as tending to weaken the claims of our common country upon the confidence and affection of its people."

Speeches were made by the President, Hon. Samuel A. Eliot, Hon. J. Thomas Stevenson, Hon. George S. Hillard, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, and Rev. George W. Blagden, D.D.

Extract from Mr. Hillard's speech:

"What most tries our spirits is the claim, so constantly put forth, that liberty is, in its essence, no better than slavery; that both have the same right to come into court and hold up their hands before God and man. . . .

"Our Southern brethren should understand that there is an antislavery sentiment at the North which is neither Abolitionism nor Free-soilism. It is a principle as well as a sentiment—fed by the salient streams which flow from the mind and heart. It is at once a logical deduction of the understanding and a primitive instinct of the soul. . . .

"We found our protest against the bill now before Congress upon the fact that it is a breach of the plighted faith of the nation; and further, because it is a breach of the plighted faith of the nation in favor of slavery."

Extract from the speech of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop:

"I can never, certainly, be unprepared to declare my earnest and unhesitating opposition to the repeal of a solemn stipulation which has prohibited slavery forever within the limits of that vast imperial domain whose destiny is now about to be decided. When I am not ready at any hour, in any presence, under any circumstances, to make this declaration, I shall, at least, take good care not to show my face in Faneuil Hall. Fellow-citizens, in every view which I can take of this Nebraska Bill—in its relations to the poor Indian, in its relations to slavery, in its relations to the national faith, the national honor, the national harmony, in every view alike—I cannot but deplore its introduction. I cannot but deplore its passage. . . .

"Upon what grounds is such a measure justified? Why, I am amazed, Mr. President, as you certainly must be also, when I find it seriously advanced and maintained that the adjustment of 1850 was understood or intended to repeal or supersede the old Compromise of 1820. . . .

"What, sir! A constructive repeal of a formal compact of more than thirty years' standing! A solemn covenant overturned by an inference; superseded by what is called a principle; emanating—let me rather say extorted—from a settlement of a wholly different and independent issue! Who ever heard of such a proceeding or of such a proposition as this? . . .

"But, fellow-citizens, whatever others may do or say, our course is plain; and I rejoice that there is neither halting nor hesitation in pursuing it. I rejoice to perceive, from all the circumstances of this and other occasions, that, whatever may have been our differences heretofore upon other topics, a firm, earnest, and united remonstrance against a measure so full at once of evil omen and of real wrong as this is about to go up to the capital of the nation from this time-honored Temple of Freedom."

A similar meeting was subsequently held by the German residents of Boston, while in every city and in nearly all the towns through the North there were patriotic gatherings actuated by like feelings, and uttering like protests.

The Compromise of 1820 was regarded at the time in the Northern States as a concession to Slavery. But later than this, Calhoun had combined the South in the interests of slave property, both for offensive and defensive action; and the North had witnessed the aggressions and triumphs of this oligarchy continuously ever since. Many had come to believe, as some had been for a long time saying, that Slavery had always had its own way, and always would have it. Up to

this year — 1854 — it had met with no effective resistance whatever. Even now there was no political organization of any influence or power to resist it. There was, indeed, the Free-soil party, created by Van Buren in 1848, but it was now only one-third as strong in numbers as it had been at the time of its birth. A few of its members, by a skilful coalition with the other parties in several States, had become members of Congress; but so little faith did these have in its stability or future power that nearly all of them in 1852 advocated the disbanding of the organization and the fusing with the Whig party. At a caucus held in Washington in that year Salmon P. Chase and John P. Hale advocated this course, Joshua R. Giddings assented to it, Charles Sumner did not oppose it. Charles Allen, of Worcester, was the only speaker who resisted the proposition, but his resistance was so strenuous and effective that the project was abandoned.

This party then was not of a kind to give any hope or comfort to the North. As to the Garrison Abolitionists, they were still less powerful and utterly impracticable. They were outside of all parties, and still more outside of public confidence and sympathy. They had always impaired and crippled every cause they had advocated. Every political organization dreaded any contact with them, and would have regarded their indorsement as the greatest possible calamity — the harbinger of certain defeat and annihilation. So they were not even thought of as a power to resist either the

encroachments of Slavery then threatened, or any future encroachments. For a quarter of a century they had been making violent efforts to put an end to slavery, as they maintained, through the destruction of the Church, the Constitution, and the Union. By their own confession, they had seen that power "go on from victory to victory," becoming more and more irresistible by the lapse of time. They were therefore of too little account to be considered in the impending emergency.

Evidence abounds to prove the almost universal conviction of the hopelessness of resisting the power of Slavery.

In the *Liberator*, June 15, 1855, Wendell Phillips says, in substance:

"Upon the advent of Charles Sumner in Washington, John Davis said to him, 'Mr. Sumner, I will tell you the result of the experience of my long public service—Slavery rules everything here.' . . .

"The testimony of John Quincy Adams was the same. . . .

"Edmund Quincy, after a life that had uttered the same truth, with eighty years on his brow, he tells us, in his recent letter, that with the capital and the prejudices and the Constitution against the antislavery movement, he hardly sees where there is any ground for hope of its success. . . .

"It is from voices like these that we learn the hidden disease that eats out the nation's life."

Hon. Hannibal Hamlin, in February, 1888, in his address before the Veteran Republican Club, said:

"Ah, how well do I remember the conflicts through which we passed in attempting to keep this curse out of the free Territories of the land! We sought to prevent its polluting touch, and step by step we saw our failure. It was humiliating beyond description. . . .

"How we struggled! Year after year that struggle was continued, till finally the doctrine of pro-slavery dominated every department of the Government. It sat enthroned in the White House, and there was no road to popular favor but in submission to Slavery."

Theodore Parker, in Music Hall, Boston, July 2, 1854 (*Liberator*, August 10, 1854), said:

"In the steady triumph of despotism, ten years more like the ten years past and it will be all over with the liberties of America. Everything must go down, and the heel of the tyrant will be on our necks. It will be all over with the rights of man in America, and you and I must go to Australia, to Italy, or to Siberia for our freedom, or perish with the liberty which our fathers fought for and secured to themselves, not to their faithless sons. Shall America thus miserably perish? Such is the aspect of things to-day."

Again, he says (see *Liberator*, May 19, 1854):

"There is not one spot of free soil from Nootka Sound to Key West. In no part of the country is there freedom. The Supreme Court is a slave court, the Senate is a slave Senate, the Senators are overseers, Mr. Douglas is a great overseer, and Mr. Everett a little overseer. The press is generally the friend of Slavery."

Colonel Benton, in his review of the Dred Scott decision, says:

"Up to Mr. Pierce's administration the plan had been defensive; that is to say, to make the secession of the South a measure of self-defence against the abolition encroachments and crusades of the North. In the time of Mr. Pierce the plan became offensive; that is to say, to commence the expansion of slavery, and the acquisition of territory to spread it over, so as to overpower the North with new slave States and to drive them out of the Union. . . .

"The rising in the free States, in consequence of the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, checked these schemes,

and limited the success of the disunionists to the revival of the agitation which enables them to wield the South against the North in all the federal elections and all federal legislation. Accidents and events have given the party a strange pre-eminence —under Jackson's administration proclaimed for treason: since at the head of the Government and the Democratic party. The death of Harrison and the accession of Tyler was their first great lift; the election of Mr. Pierce was their culminating point."

Like testimony could be increased almost without limit, but perhaps this is sufficient to show the absolute control of Slavery in the year 1854. The speeches in Congress, however, and the editorials of influential journalists, prove that there was no hope of rescuing Kansas from the grasp of this resistless power, should the Kansas-Nebraska Bill become a law. A few examples of such evidence are here inserted. Altogether they are a very minute fraction of such testimony which could be easily collected from numerous other Congressional speeches, from editorials, from speeches made at all the mass-meetings through the North to protest against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. These are all on record and within reach of the future historian.

The following may therefore be taken as specimens of innumerable records representing the Northern sentiment.

Charles Sumner, in his speech in the Senate, on February 21, 1854, said:

"It is clear beyond dispute that by the overthrow of this Prohibition, slavery will be quickened and slaves themselves multiplied, while new room and verge will be secured for the gloomy operations of slave law, under which free labor will droop and

a vast territory be smitten with sterility. Sir, a blade of grass would not grow where the horse of Attila had trod; nor can any true prosperity spring up in the footprints of a slave.

* * * * * * *

"You are asked to destroy a safeguard of Freedom, consecrated by solemn compact, under which the country is reposing in the security of peace, and thus confirm the supremacy of slavery.

* * * * * * *

"The simple question which challenges answer is, whether Nebraska shall be preserved in the condition of Illinois or surrendered to that of Missouri? Surely this cannot be treated lightly."

In the House of Representatives, May 16, 1854, Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, said:

"MR. CHAIRMAN,—Who does not know that the Southern and servile presses are already proclaiming that when this bill shall have been passed, slavery shall next be admitted into Minnesota, Washington, and Oregon? Who does not know that the President and Cabinet are laboring to prepare the public mind for a war upon Spain, with the undisguised purpose of maintaining slavery in Cuba? That they are prepared to sacrifice the lives of our citizens by thousands, in order to stay the progress of civilization in that island? That the whole administration press of the country sustains these executive views? That Southern papers insist that we shall also conquer St. Domingo and restore slavery there? Then form an alliance with slave-holding Brazil, as the only nation besides ours that legalizes the crimes of the peculiar institution? That we shall then restore the African slave-trade, and thus disgrace our Government and sink it to a piratical power for propagating oppression and crime? . . .

"This measure is treason to humanity, treason to liberty, and treason to the Constitution.

* * * * * * *

"To surrender this vast Territory to slavery will exclude free men from it; for, as I have said, free laborers, bred up with feelings of self-respect, cannot, and will not, mingle with slaves. For these reasons it is most obvious that the character of the

States to be carved out of this Territory will be determined by that of the government now to be established. If the Territory be settled by slave-holders, the States will of course be slave-holding States."

Hon. William H. Seward, in the United States Senate, on May 25, 1854, said:

"The sun has set for the last time upon the guaranteed and certain liberties of all the unsettled and unorganized portions of the American continent that lie within the jurisdiction of the United States. To-morrow's sun will rise in dim eclipse over them. How long that obscuration shall last is known only to the Power that directs and controls all human events. For myself, I know only this: that no human power can prevent its coming on, and that its passing off will be hastened and secured by others than those now here, and perhaps only by those belonging to future generations.

"Sir, it would be almost factious to offer further resistance to this measure here. Indeed, successful resistance was never expected to be made in this hall. The Senate is an old battle-ground, on which have been fought many contests, and always, at least since 1820, with fortune adverse to the cause of equal and universal freedom. . . .

"Notwithstanding all this, however, what has occurred here and in the country during this contest has compelled a conviction that slavery will gain something, and freedom will endure a severe though I hope not an irretrievable loss. The slave-holding States are passive, quiet, content, and satisfied with the prospective boon, and the free States are excited and alarmed with fearful forebodings and apprehensions. . . .

"I say only that there may be an extent of intervention, of aggression on your side, which may induce the North at some time, either in this or some future generation, to adopt your tactics and follow your example."

Extract from the speech of Hon. Benjamin F. Wade, in the United States Senate, May 25, 1854:

MR. PRESIDENT,—I do not intend to debate this subject further. The humiliation of the North is complete and overwhelming.

No Southern enemy of hers can wish her deeper degradation. God knows I feel it keenly enough, and I have no desire to prolong the melancholy spectacle. I know full well that no words of mine can save the country from this impending dishonor, this great meditated wrong, which is big with danger to the good neighborhood of the different sections of the country, if not to the stability of the Union itself. But full well I know that this hated measure is to pass; it is a foregone conclusion, and cannot be averted or delayed. . . .

"Now, Mr. President, while this great wrong which you are about to perpetrate—this wrong to the North, this wrong to humanity, this wrong to mankind everywhere—shall remain upon your statute-book unrepealed, I shall take but little interest in whatever else you may do. . . .

"An empire is to be transformed from freedom to slavery, and the people must not be consulted on such a question, so big with weal or woe to the millions who are to people these vast regions in all time to come.

"To-morrow, I believe, there is to be an eclipse of the sun, and I think that the sun in the heavens and the glory of this republic should both go into obscurity and darkness together. Let the bill then pass. It is a proper occasion for so dark and damning a deed."

The following is from the speech of Hon. Salmon P. Chase, United States Senate, May 25, 1854:

"This bill doubtless paves the way for the approach of new, alarming, and perhaps fatal dangers to our country. It is the part of freemen and lovers of freedom to stand upon their guard and prepare for the worst events. It is because this bill puts in peril great and precious interests, reverses the ancient and settled policy of the Government, and breaks down a great safeguard of liberty, that I have felt myself constrained to resist it firmly and persistently, though without avail. All that now remains for me is to enter against it, as I now do, my earnest and solemn protest, and to join with my colleague in recording against it the vote of Ohio."

Horace Greeley, in the *New York Tribune*, January 6, 1854, says:

"The Thirty-first Congress inaugurated the era of submission to slavery. Since then everything has gone on swimmingly in this line. Not only was the slavery question compromised, but the character and reputation and principles of hundreds of our public men were compromised by the same operation. There was a general debauch and demoralization throughout all political circles, as was clearly manifest in the triumphant run of General Pierce.

"If General Taylor had lived, and if the Wilmot Proviso doctrine had substantially triumphed, as it would have done through the instrumentality of his policy, we should have seen the reverse of what we now see. Freedom's battle was fought and lost in 1850, and the cowards and traitors have all run to the winning side."

Again, in the same paper, March 14, 1854:

"We as a nation are ruled by the Black Power. It is composed of tyrants. See, then, how the North is always beaten. The Black Power is a unit. It is a steady, never-failing force. It is a real power. Thus far it has been the only unvarying power of the country, for it never surrenders and never wavers. It has always governed, and now governs more than ever."

Same paper, May 24, 1854:

"The revolution is accomplished, and Slavery is king! How long shall this monarch reign? This is now the question for the Northern people to answer. Their representatives have crowned the new potentate, and the people alone can depose him. If we were a few steps further advanced in the drama of reaction, he could only be hurled from his seat through a bloody contest."

Again, June 24, 1854:

"Not even by accident is any advantage left for liberty in their bill. It is all blackness, without a single gleam of light—a desert without one spot of verdure—a crime that can show no redeeming point. . . .

"A Territory which one short year ago was unanimously considered by all, North and South, as sacredly secured by irrepealable law to FREEDOM FOREVER, has been foully betrayed by traitor hearts and traitor voices, and surrendered to slavery."

The above extracts prove the gloom and despondency of the North in view of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The people of the free States believed, as they had every reason to believe, that by that act Kansas and Nebraska would become slave States, and the power of Slavery would be thereby made absolute and perpetual.

There is one paragraph in Senator Seward's speech which is so unlike the other parts of it, and so unlike anything ever before uttered by him, that it requires explanation. The paragraph is the following: "Come on, then, gentlemen of the slave States, since there is no escaping your challenge. I accept it in behalf of freedom. We will engage in competition for the virgin soil of Kansas, and God give the victory to the side that is stronger in numbers, as it is in right." To this passage has been given the credit of inaugurating the Kansas contest. But this defiance of Mr. Seward was very far from being original. Many weeks before, the plan and purposes of the Emigrant Aid Company had been made public. Their charter, granted by the Massachusetts Legislature, allowing them a capital of $5,000,000, was an earlier and stronger defiance of the slaveocracy of the South than anything ever uttered in the halls of our national Legislature. It had been published everywhere, North and South. There was not a member of

Congress who did not know it. It was the origin and the basis of Mr. Seward's defiance. But while the New York Senator "cast this anchor to the windward," he proves clearly in the extract from another part of the same speech that he had no faith whatever in the methods proposed by this company. He conceded Kansas and the other Territories to slavery, and said if they shall ever be made free, "that result will be hastened and secured by others than those now here, and perhaps by only those belonging to future generations."

The same criticism can properly be made upon Charles Sumner's remark at the time of the passage of the bill: "Thus it puts Freedom and Slavery face to face and bids them grapple. Who can doubt the result?" In Mr. Sumner's speech upon the same subject, made three months earlier, there is no expression of faith that the freedom of Kansas could be secured by a conflict between the forces of Freedom and Slavery. The Emigrant Aid Company gave him and Mr. Seward and the country that revelation. But the following extract from the same speech of the Massachusetts Senator proves that he, too, had no hope whatever of a speedy triumph of freedom. He plainly expresses his belief that slavery will be established in both Territories, but at the same time cherishes the hope of a subsequent resurrection of freedom in the indefinite future. He says:

"In a Christian land, and in an age of civilization, a time-honored statute of freedom is struck down; opening the way to all

the countless woes and wrongs of human bondage. Among the crimes of history another is about to be recorded, which no tears can blot out, and which, in better days, will be read with universal shame. . . .

"Standing at the very grave of freedom in Kansas and Nebraska, I lift myself to the vision of that happy resurrection by which freedom will be secured hereafter, not only in these Territories, but everywhere under the National Government."

CHAPTER II.

WHY AND HOW THE EMIGRANT AID COMPANY WAS FORMED.

On May 30, 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, containing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, was signed by President Pierce, and became the law of the land. When this news reached the Northern States the bells were tolled for the death of Freedom. The slave States, with thirty-five years of political supremacy and the prestige of this last great victory over the North, with perfect discipline and irresistible power, were confident of undisputed control in the Government for generations to come. They already had the Chief Executive, his Cabinet, the Supreme Court, both houses of Congress, and the army and navy to do their bidding. Great as was their present power, their prospective power was even much more alarming. Kansas and Nebraska, with all the Territories west and south of them, were to become slave States. Five more were to be made of Texas. The purpose of acquiring Cuba and Central America for their further aggrandizement was developing into action. Why, then, should the South doubt for an instant the certainty of her perpetual power? In a few years her Senators in Congress would nearly double the number from the North. Their skill in di-

plomacy and politics, acquired by unremitting practice and study, much excelled that of the Northern people, whose minds were occupied by a manifold system of industries requiring constant attention, as well as by a great number of social, commercial, charitable, religious, and educational organizations. No wonder that we were hopeless and helpless. We had no political organization of any strength to oppose to slavery. The Liberty party, which for a few years maintained a kind of indefinite, nebulous existence, always without strength or the faintest hope of success, had been absorbed in 1848 by Van Buren's Free-soil party. This party was more the offspring of spleen and revenge than of antislavery principle. Van Buren desired to gratify his personal hostility to Lewis Cass, the Democratic candidate for the presidency, while the Whig contingent of Massachusetts was led by men who had long chafed under the leadership of Webster and Winthrop, of Everett and Lawrence, and who had waited for years for an opportunity to bolt from the party. The nomination of Taylor in 1848 gave them a sufficient excuse (in their own estimation) for such action. So they readily joined the disaffected Democrats of New York in the Buffalo Convention of that year. But the new party, without securing one electoral vote, and without the slightest prospect of ever sustaining by law their one cardinal principle of excluding slavery from the Territories by Act of Congress grew less and less every year, until in 1853 their votes in New York and New England were

only one-third as many as in 1848.* Now, in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise they had seen their idol shattered beyond all hope of repair, and were as hopeless and helpless as were the Philistines when they found their god Dagon flat upon his face before the ark of the Lord.

In order, however, to make some show of resistance to the overwhelming ruin which had overtaken them, they raised in the Senate the cry of "repeal," which was feebly echoed by a few country journals of their faith. But it very soon became apparent that, with the greatest possible success, there could be no repeal in less than seven years. In that time the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska would be admitted into the Union as slave States, and the slave power fortified in its control of the Government. So this cry of repeal soon died away, like the bleating of innocent

* The wonderful increase of the antislavery vote in 1855 and 1856 was brought about by the illegal assaults of the slave power upon the citizens of Kansas. The figures in New England and New York from 1848 to 1854 are here given. It will be seen that the fall elections of 1854 were little influenced by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

	New England.	New York.
1848	72,368	120,479
1849	79,454	1,311
1850	42,270	3,410
1851	43,401	000
1852	57,143	25,359
1853	63,668	000
(Repeal of the Missouri Compromise.)		
1854	79,632	000

lambs after the wolves have broken down the barriers of the sheepfold. The Free-soil politicians proposed no other plan of resistance by voice or pen.

"As they drifted on their path,
There was silence deep as death;
And the boldest held his breath
For a time."

But although the majority of the Free-soil party made and adhered to that organization for selfish motives, which had little or no reference to antislavery, there were many of its rank and file, and some of its leaders, true to principle. Such were Salmon P. Chase, John P. Hale, Charles Francis Adams, Charles Sumner, Charles Allen, and Henry Wilson. But among the supporters of Taylor in 1848 there were thousands of influential leaders, much more practical, while no less opposed to slavery. Examples of this kind were Horace Greeley, William H. Seward, Thurlow Weed, Robert C. Winthrop, and Abbott Lawrence. These were quite as earnest advocates of the legislative restriction of slavery as any of the Free-soilers. They were all for the Constitution and the Union, and hostile to anarchy, in whatever form, or under whatever disguises. They sought to restrain slavery in a legal and fair way, but were entirely powerless to accomplish their purpose, though they struggled for it bravely for many years.

In this condition of affairs, what was there left upon which the North could base any hope of

effectual resistance to the spread and perpetuity of slavery? Every effort of politicians to restrict, and every effort of Abolitionists to extinguish it, had only given it greater strength for the present, and better security for the future. Had the Southern leaders been content to leave the Missouri Compromise undisturbed, and simply to open the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska to settlement, their cherished cause would have been secure. These Territories would have been speedily settled by a pro-slavery population, and, after admission to the Union, could easily have changed their Constitutions to suit the wishes of slave-holders. Or, they could have relied upon the decision of the Supreme Court—soon to come in the Dred Scott case—that slavery could not be constitutionally restricted by Congress. In either case it would have been impossible to unite the Whig and Democratic parties of the North to make these Territories free. Both would have submitted quietly to any legal and apparently fair process of extending slavery, rather than to endanger the union of the States.

But the South, stimulated unreasonably by her former success, ventured foolishly to overthrow a time-honored compact, and subject herself to a charge of bad faith. In the repeal of the Missouri Compromise she illustrated the words of the sacred writer: "Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall." By this act she had made it possible to combine all political parties in the North against the extension of slavery, should

the right method of doing this great work be well presented and faithfully urged. All were ready now to rebuke the arrogance of slavery, and also to end its existence, if that could be done in accordance with the Constitution and the Union.

Fortunately a feasible plan for this work had been prepared and carried to theoretical perfection months before the Missouri Compromise was repealed, and in anticipation of that event—I mean the plan of the Emigrant Aid Company.

During the winter of 1854 I was, for the second time, a Representative from Worcester in the Legislature of Massachusetts. I had felt to some degree the general alarm in anticipation of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, but not the depression and despondency that so affected others who regarded the cause of liberty as hopelessly lost. As the winter wore away I began to have a conviction which came to be ever present, that something *must* be done to end the domination of slavery. I felt a personal responsibility, and though I long struggled to evade the question, I found it to be impossible. I pondered upon it by day, and dreamed of it by night. By what plan could this great problem be solved? What force could be effectively opposed to the power that seemed about to spread itself over the continent?

After much and very careful study, I concluded that if this work could be done at all, it must be done by an entirely new organization, depending for success upon methods never before applied.

This was an organized emigration, guided and guarded by a responsible business company, whose capital should precede the emigrants, and prepare the way for them by such investments as should be best calculated to secure their comfort and protection. This emigration must also be of a kind before unknown, since it must, in this case, be self-sacrificing and voluntary, whereas all historical migrations had been either forced or self-seeking. To present this new method of bringing two hostile civilizations face to face upon the disputed prairies of Kansas in such a way as to unite in its support the entire Northern people of whatever parties, was the work next to be done. On this appeal must depend the future of our country. Then arose the important question, Was it possible to create such an agency to save Kansas? I believed the time for such a noble and heroic development had come; but could hope be inspired, and the pulsations of life be started beneath the ribs of death? The projected plan would call upon men to risk life and property in establishing freedom in Kansas. They would be called to pass over millions of acres of better land than any in the disputed Territory was supposed to be, land in communities where peace and plenty were assured, to meet the revolver and the bowie-knife defending slavery and assailing freedom. Could such men be found, they would certainly prove themselves to be the very highest types of Christian manhood, much above all other emigrants. *Could* such men be found?

It happened that on the evening of the 11th of March, 1854, there was a large meeting in the City Hall in Worcester, to protest against the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. I attended the meeting, and not having yet taken counsel of any one, determined to see how the plan would be received by an intelligent New England audience without any preparation for the announcement. Accordingly, making the last speech of the evening, I for the first time disclosed the plan. The Worcester *Spy* of March 13th has the conclusion of my speech, as follows:

"It is time now to think of what is to be done in the event of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Now is the time to organize an opposition that will utterly defeat the schemes of the selfish men who misrepresent the nation at Washington. Let every effort be made, and every appliance be brought to bear, to fill up that vast and fertile Territory with free men—with men who hate slavery, and who will drive the hideous thing from the broad and beautiful plains where they go to raise their free homes. [Loud cheers.]

"I for one am willing to be taxed one-fourth of my time or of my earnings until this be done—until a barrier of free hearts and strong hands shall be built around the land our fathers consecrated to freedom, to be her heritage forever. [Loud cheers.]"

If instead of this impetuous, spontaneous, and enthusiastic response there had been only a moderate approbation of the plan, the country would never have heard of the Emigrant Aid Company. I did not expect that all who applauded would go to Kansas, or even that any of them would go, but I knew that whatever a New England audience

would applaud in that manner I could find men to perform. There was no more doubt in my mind from that time.

Without further delay I drew up the charter of the "Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company," and by personal solicitation secured the corporators. I introduced the matter in the Legislature and had it referred to the committee on the judiciary, of which James D. Colt, afterwards a justice of the State Supreme Court, was chairman. At the hearing I appeared before the committee and said in behalf of the petition:

"This is a plan to prevent the forming of any more slave States. If you will give us the charter there shall never be another slave State admitted into the Union. In the halls of Congress we have been invariably beaten for more than thirty years, and it is now time to change the battle-ground from Congress to the prairies, where we shall invariably triumph."

Mr. Colt replied:

"We are willing to gratify you by reporting favorably your charter, but we all believe it to be impracticable and utterly futile. Here you are fifteen hundred miles from the battle-ground, while the most thickly settled portion of Missouri lies on the eastern border of Kansas, and can in one day blot out all you can do in a year. Neither can you get men who now have peaceful and happy homes in the East to risk the loss of everything by going to Kansas."

But Mr. Colt reported in favor of the charter, and it passed, though it cost its author much labor, for not one member either of the Senate or House had any faith in the measure.

The following is the first section of the charter:

"SEC. 1. Benjamin C. Clark, Isaac Livermore, Charles Allen, Isaac Davis, William G. Bates, Stephen C. Phillips, Charles C. Hazewell, Alexander H. Bullock, Henry Wilson, James S. Whitney, Samuel E. Sewall, Samuel G. Howe, James Holland, Moses Kimball, James D. Green, Francis W. Bird, Otis Clapp, Anson Burlingame, Eli Thayer, and Otis Rich, their associates, successors and assigns, are hereby made a corporation, by the name of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, for the purpose of assisting emigrants to settle in the West; and for this purpose, they shall have all the powers and privileges, and be subject to all the duties, restrictions, and liabilities, set forth in the thirty-eighth and forty-fourth chapters of the Revised Statutes."

The charter was signed by the Governor on the 26th of April. On the 4th of May a meeting was held at the State-house, by the corporators and others, and a committee chosen to report a plan of organization and work. This committee consisted of Eli Thayer, Alexander H. Bullock, and Edward E. Hale of Worcester, Richard Hildreth and Otis Clapp of Boston. They made a report at an adjourned meeting showing the proposed operation of the enterprise, from which the following is an extract:

"The Emigrant Aid Company has been incorporated to protect emigrants, as far as may be, from the inconveniences we have enumerated. Its duty is to organize emigration to the West and bring it into a system. This duty, which should have been attempted long ago, is particularly essential now in the critical position of the Western Territories.

"The Legislature has granted a charter, with a capital sufficient for these purposes. This capital is not to exceed $5,000,000. In no single year are assessments to a larger amount than ten per cent. to be called for. The corporators believe that if the company be organized at once, as soon as the subscriptions to the stock amounts to $1,000,000, the annual income to be de-

rived from that amount, and the subsequent subscriptions, may be so appropriated as to render most essential service to the emigrants; to plant a free State in Kansas, to the lasting advantage of the country; and to return a handsome profit to the stockholders upon their investment.

* * * * * * *

"To accomplish the object in view it is recommended, 1st, that the Directors contract immediately with some one of the competing lines of travel for the conveyance of twenty thousand persons from the Northern and Middle States, to that place in the West which the Directors shall select for their first settlement.

"It is believed that passage may be obtained, in so large a contract, at half the price paid by individuals. We recommend that emigrants receive the full advantage of this diminution in price, and that they be forwarded in companies of two hundred, as they apply, at these reduced rates of travel.

"2d. It is recommended that at such points as the Directors select for places of settlement, they shall at once construct a boarding-house or receiving-house, in which three hundred persons may receive temporary accommodation on their arrival; and that the number of such houses be enlarged as necessity may dictate. The new-comers or their families may thus be provided for in the necessary interval which elapses while they are making their selection of a location.

"3d. It is recommended that the Directors procure and send forward steam saw-mills, and such other machines as shall be of constant service in a new settlement, which cannot, however, be purchased or carried out conveniently by individual settlers. These machines may be leased or run by the company's agents. At the same time it is desirable that a printing-press be sent out, and a weekly newspaper established. This would be the organ of the company's agents; would extend information regarding its settlement; and be from the very first an index of that love of freedom and of good morals which it is to be hoped may characterize the State now to be formed.

"4th. It is recommended that the company's agents locate and take up for the company's benefit the sections of land in which the boarding-houses and mills are located, and no others

And further, that whenever the Territory shall be organized as a free State, the Directors shall dispose of all its interests, then replace, by the sales, the money laid out, declare a dividend to the stockholders, and

"5th. That they then select a new field, and make similar arrangements for the settlement and organization of another free State of this Union.

* * * * * * *

"Under the plan proposed, it will be but two or three years before the company can dispose of its property in the Territory first occupied, and reimburse itself for its first expenses. At that time, in a State of 70,000 inhabitants, it will possess several reservations of 640 acres each, on which are boarding-houses and mills, and the churches and schools which it has rendered necessary. From these centres will the settlements of the State have radiated. In other words, these points will then be the large commercial positions of the new State. If there were only one such, its value, after the region should be so far peopled, would make a very large dividend to the company which sold it, besides restoring the original capital with which to enable it to attempt the same adventure elsewhere.

* * * * * * *

"It is recommended that a meeting of the stockholders be called on the first Wednesday in June, to organize the company for one year, and that the corporators at this time make a temporary organization, with power to obtain subscriptions to the stock and make any necessary preliminary arrangements.

"ELI THAYER,
"*For the Committee.*"

It will be seen by the above that the enterprise was intended to be a money-making affair as well as a philanthropic undertaking. The fact that we intended to make it pay the investors pecuniarily brought upon us the reproaches and condemnation of some of the Abolitionists, at least one of whom declared in my hearing that he had rather give over the Territory to slavery than to make a cent

out of the operation of saving it to freedom. In all my emigration schemes I intended to make the results return a profitable dividend in cash.

In pursuance of the last recommendation of the above report, the corporators made a temporary organization by the choice of Eli Thayer as president *pro tem.*, and Dr. Thomas H. Webb, of Boston, as secretary, and opened books of subscription in Boston, Worcester, and New York.

The capital stock of the Massachusetts company was originally fixed at $5,000,000, from which it was proposed to collect an assessment of four per cent. for the operations of 1854 as soon as $1,000,000 had been subscribed. Books for stock subscriptions were opened and the undertaking was fairly started. I felt confident that even a few colonies from the North would make the freedom of Kansas a necessity; for the whole power of the free States would be ready to protect their sons in that Territory.

I at once hired Chapman Hall in Boston, and began to speak day and evening in favor of the enterprise. I also addressed meetings elsewhere, and labored in every possible way to make converts to my theory. One day I met a party of clergymen in the study of Theodore Parker; on the next another party in the study of Rev. Dr. Lothrop. I met merchants in their counting-rooms, and business men upon the streets, and urged their attendance at the Chapman Hall meetings. Thus, with the help of the Boston press, led by the *Daily Advertiser*, there began to be some interest in the plan to save Kansas.

Not only was a new plan proposed, but it was advocated by new arguments, some points of which were as follows:

The present crisis was to decide whether freedom or slavery should rule our country for centuries to come. That slavery was a great national curse; that it practically ruined one-half of the nation and greatly impeded the progress of the other half. That it was a curse to the negro, but a much greater curse to the white man. It made the slaveholders petty tyrants who had no correct idea of themselves or of anybody else. It made the poor whites of the South more abject and degraded than the slaves themselves. That it was an insurmountable obstacle in the way of the nation's progress and prosperity. That it must be overcome and extirpated. That the way to do this was to go to the prairies of Kansas and show the superiority of free labor civilization; to go with all our free labor trophies: churches and schools, printing-presses, steam-engines, and mills; and in a peaceful contest convince every poor man from the South of the superiority of free labor. That it was much better to *go* and *do* something for free labor than to stay at home and talk of manacles and auction-blocks and blood-hounds, while deploring the never-ending aggressions of slavery. That in this contest the South had not one element of success. We had much greater numbers, much greater wealth, greater readiness of organization, and better facilities of migration. That we should put a cordon of free States from Minnesota to the Gulf of Mexi-

co, and stop the forming of slave States. After that we should colonize the northern border slave States and exterminate slavery. That our work was not to make women and children cry in anti-slavery conventions, by sentimental appeals, BUT TO GO AND PUT AN END TO SLAVERY.

The census of the United States was my text-book and the basis of my appeals. My themes were the commercial, industrial, and economic disadvantages of slavery. These arguments were effective with the Northern people. Such interests, in the Civil War, more than any pity for the African, impelled the West to fight for the outlet of the Mississippi River.

In elucidating this plan to save Kansas, Professor Spring, in his History, page 28, says:

"Early in the summer of 1854 rumors that powerful capitalized societies were forming in New England for the purpose of sending antislavery colonies to Kansas alarmed the people of western Missouri, and suggested doubts whether the repeal of the old restrictive Compromise legislation would eventually prove as fortunate for their interests as they dreamed. They had looked upon Kansas as an easy, inevitable prey, a likelihood almost universally conceded throughout the Northern States. 'The fate of Kansas was sealed,' said the *Liberator* of July 13, 1855, 'the very day the Missouri Compromise was repealed.'

"In the midst of general despondency it occurred to Eli Thayer, of Worcester, Massachusetts, that the public had misread the situation; that apparent disasters were only successes disguised; that the calamities befallen the antislavery cause in Congress might be retrieved by tactics of organized emigration —a contest in which the Southern oligarchy, much cumbered and heavily shod, could not cope with freedom in its nimbler movements. While the Congressional struggle was in progress, before the fate of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill had been settled, he

wrote out a Constitution for the 'Massachusetts Emigrant Company,' and procured a legislative charter. Thayer originally contemplated a formidable corporation, with a capital of five million dollars, by which he expected to control migration — the vast Westering flux of natives as well as foreigners—in the interests of liberty; to marshal it against the encroachments of the South; to secure the Territories in the first place, and then turn his revolutionizing agencies upon the slave States themselves. . . .

"Abolitionists repudiated expedients of colonization as 'false in principle,' and able to compass at best only 'a transplanted Massachusetts' — a futile and unworthy consummation, since even 'the original Massachusetts had been tried and found wanting.'" . . .

At the close of one of my meetings in Boston, a man in the rear of the hall arose and announced his intention of subscribing ten thousand dollars towards the capital stock of the company. This was John M. S. Williams, of Cambridgeport, who was afterwards prominently connected with the Emigrant Aid Company. Charles Francis Adams came forward with a subscription of twenty-five thousand dollars, and others followed. It was at one of the Chapman Hall meetings that I first saw Charles Robinson (afterwards Governor of Kansas), and engaged him to act as agent of the Emigrant Aid Company. A wiser and more sagacious man for this work could not have been found within the borders of the nation. By nature and by training he was perfectly well equipped for the arduous work before him. A true democrat and a lover of the rights of man, he had risked his life in California while defending the poor and weak against the cruel oppression of the rich and powerful. He was willing at any time, if there were need, to die for

his principles. In addition to such brave devotion to his duty, he had the clearest foresight, and the coolest, calmest judgment in determining the course of action best adapted to secure the rights of the free State settlers. No one in Kansas was so much as he the man for the place and time. He was a deeper thinker than Atchison, and triumphed over the border ruffians and the more annoying and more dangerous self-seekers of his own party. The man who "paints the lily and gilds refined gold" is just the one to tell us how Charles Robinson might have been better qualified for his Kansas work. But his character, so clearly defined in freedom's greatest struggle, superior to the help or harm of criticism, reveals these salient points of excellence—majesty of mind and humility of heart, stern justice and tender sympathy, heroic will and sensitive conscience, masculine strength and maidenly modesty, leonine courage and womanly gentleness, with power to govern based on self-restraint, and love of freedom deeper than love of life.

With such a man at the head of the free State cause in Kansas, it is not strange that I felt no uneasiness about its management. I never troubled him with letters of advice about Kansas matters, which he was in a position to understand so well. In the three years' conflict very few letters passed between us. He never knew where or when a letter would reach me, as I was speaking all the way from the Penobscot to the Schuylkill, and from the seaboard to the lakes. It was my mission to raise

men and money for the security of freedom in the Territory, and to combine the Northern States in this work. I did not doubt Robinson's ability or fidelity in the use of means.

Fortunately for him and for our cause, his youthful wife was admirably qualified for her arduous and responsible position. Mrs. Sara T. L. Robinson was the daughter of Hon. Myron Lawrence, of Belchertown, Massachusetts, a prominent Whig leader, and an extreme hater of the disunion fanatics, whom he decorated with the name of "Bobolitionists."

Entirely devoted to the cause of freedom, Mrs. Robinson brought to her work a well-disciplined mind, high courage, and an unconquerable faith. She was an inspiration to all the women in the Territory, whom she influenced by her ardent words and her graceful though vigorous pen. Nor did her influence stop at the confines of the field of conflict between the two hostile civilizations, but extended throughout the free States. In 1856 she published a most entertaining book, replete with charming pictures of the daily life of our brave pioneers, and of the thrilling incidents of that most exciting period. This had a wide circulation, and was a very efficient aid in our great work.* By such services in the pivotal conflict, the name of Robinson has become illustrious.

* "Kansas: Its Interior and Exterior Life." Boston. Crosby, Nichols & Company. 1856.

CHAPTER III.

HORACE GREELEY AND "THE PLAN OF FREEDOM."

All the work recorded in the last chapter had been done before the Kansas-Nebraska Bill passed the Senate. A good number of the leading citizens of Boston had become earnest and hopeful supporters of the plan of the Emigrant Aid Company. This was proof to me that by a judicious presentation of this plan in other places a similar co-operation could be secured. That such help should be obtained without delay was not only desirable, but absolutely necessary to our success. After careful thought upon the question, How is this work to be done? I determined to suspend my Chapman Hall meetings and go directly to New York City, for the purpose of meeting some of the leading citizens there, and inducing them, if possible, to organize for the work of saving Kansas. Accordingly, I left Worcester on the evening of the 26th of May, and was ready in New York City the next morning to enter upon the duties of my self-imposed mission. On this day I first became personally acquainted with Mr. Greeley. Before that time I had merely seen him several times while on his lecturing tours, and had heard him once or twice. I had

now come from Massachusetts on purpose to secure, if possible, the great influence of his name and of the *New York Tribune* in the new crusade of freedom, which, during the preceding three months, I had successfully begun in New England.

As I had never been in New York before, the *Tribune* building was pointed out to me, in answer to my inquiries. I climbed the narrow, crooked, much-worn, and dusty, not to say dirty, flights from Spruce Street to Mr. Greeley's sanctum. There, in a very small room, containing two old-fashioned, straight-back chairs, and a very high and very ancient bureau, sat Mr. Greeley, using the latter article for a writing-desk. The top of this bureau, except a very small space at one corner, was covered with papers, both manuscript and printed, in utter confusion. These had been pushed back so as to leave a clear space at one corner large enough to hold a sheet of paper. There was the sheet and Mr. Greeley, sitting very erect (as he was obliged to do to have his eyes above the paper), writing upon it. I at once introduced myself, and said, "Mr. Greeley, my mission to New York is for the purpose of securing the great influence of your name and paper in the work of organizing emigration from the free States to Kansas." Mr. Greeley replied: "I have seen some accounts in the papers of your movement, but I confess I know but little about it. I am glad to see you, and wish to know all about it, also your plans and purposes, and upon what reasons you base your hopes of success.

Now, Mr. Thayer, sit down and talk. I must finish this editorial under my hand, but do not mind my writing. I shall hear every word, and after this paper is completed I will give you my entire attention and shall make many inquiries." This method of listening to talk upon one subject while writing an editorial upon another and entirely different one was quite a marvel to me, and at first not very inspiring. However, I proceeded to give a full account of my last three months' work, and to show that while there was utter hopelessness in New England at the beginning of that time, there now began to be faith and hope, and that thirty-five thousand dollars had been pledged to the cause at my last meeting; that such men as Edward Everett Hale, Dr. Lyman Beecher, Hon. Charles Francis Adams, Rev. Edward Beecher, and many other distinguished Boston men, had attended some of my meetings, and had expressed the belief that with sufficient energy we could achieve success in Kansas, and stop the making of slave States forever; that the same plan applied equally well to the old slave States, and that slavery, thus circumscribed, and thereafter invaded in its old home by free labor, in a way perfectly in accordance with the laws and the Constitution, would soon be obliged to yield to the superior power of freedom and become extinct. In this way I proceeded for an hour (Mr. Greeley all the while busy with his pen), and recounted the facts of our charter having been granted and the company organized under it, of the plan of operations reported in full, and of the inter-

est in the movement already manifested in Massachusetts. Mr. Greeley called for a boy to take the copy he had just finished, and began to make inquiries concerning every point of the long history I had just given while he was writing. To my perfect amazement, not one point in the hour's talk had escaped his attention. Not one man in a thousand, giving his undivided attention to my remarks, would have had so complete an understanding and appreciation of all that had been said.

"Now, Thayer," said Mr. Greeley, "the first question I wish to ask you is this: Why have you come to me?" To this I replied: "My coming to you is no accident, but the result of careful thought and study. There are several reasons for it. First, because you are a Whig. The two great parties in the North are the Whig and Democratic, and without their co-operation our enterprise must be a failure. The Free-soil party is feeble in numbers and influence, and should it act in this matter without the aid of the two great national parties we could count on nothing but defeat. With its support alone there would be no contest whatever in Kansas, and the border ruffians of Missouri would have everything their own way. For this reason I have put among the corporators of the Emigrant Aid Company two leading Democrats of Massachusetts —Gen. James S. Whitney and Col. Isaac Davis. Among them also are several old conservative Whigs, but not one Garrison Abolitionist, for the reason that they oppose the movement and will try

to defeat it in order to increase the disunion sentiment in the North by the loss of Kansas. Now, if I can secure the leading Whig paper in the country, all the other Whig papers in the North will gladly follow its lead. I wish now as speedily as possible to reach the Middle and Western States, and to secure their immediate organization into Kansas leagues and emigrant aid societies, and you know well enough what a power the *Weekly Tribune* will be in this work. We cannot afford to lose time. The Missourians are on the border of Kansas, and it is necessary to our success that the entire North be aroused at once and put into active and hopeful work. Your paper can show the people that there is a chance to save Kansas, and if they are once convinced of this, our success is certain. Nobody in the North, whether Whig or Democrat, desires the extension of slavery, and all are ready to circumscribe and annihilate it in any legal and constitutional way. I have now given you one reason. There is another. The people believe that Horace Greeley is an honest, far-seeing, and patriotic man. That name alone will be half a victory. You are the one man now needed. Should you, with the power of your great paper, oppose, or even dubiously approve, this grand movement, our cause would be lost and Kansas be doomed to chains and slavery. This is the crisis in our history, and right here it is to be determined whether this country shall be all slave or all free. If we lose Kansas the political control of slavery is assured for an indefinite period. Now is the

time for you to use the power God has given you to help as no other man can to save the country and the cause to whose interests you devote your life. I know your character and your history well enough to feel assured of your cordial and powerful aid."

Mr. Greeley said: "There is much truth in what you have said, but I think you over-estimate my power in the matter. But do you not think the entire Democratic party will oppose? It looks to me as if Douglas had sold Kansas for a presidential nomination. Will not the Democrats see that the goods are delivered according to contract?"

To which I replied: "Perhaps a few of the Northern Democratic papers will mildly oppose us, but they dare not do so violently. Democrats and Whigs alike have seen enough of the aggressive tendency of slavery. On this subject the rank and file of both parties are with us as surely as the feeble Free-soilers. You will find, as the contest progresses, that the question will not be Whig or Democrat, but Kansas a free State or Kansas a slave State. On this question we shall have, practically, the entire Northern people with us, without distinction of party. The only exception will be the handful of Garrison Abolitionists, who say: 'There is no issue but disunion. The Nebraska Bill and the Fugitive Slave Law are of no import to Abolitionists; we strike at the root of the matter.' Their purpose is to destroy the union, and they know very well that our plan does not tend tow-

ards that result. We may therefore safely count on their opposition, which you well know would be far less harmful to us than their support."

"Now," said Mr. Greeley, "have you any papers which I can read this evening, showing the history of this movement so far as it has gone?" I then gave him the Act of Incorporation of the Emigrant Aid Company, the account of the first meeting of the corporators, my report at that meeting of the plan of operations, which was adopted, and the temporary organization of the company. Mr. Greeley then said: "It is time for me to leave, but I want you to come and lunch with me to-morrow (Sunday) at one o'clock, and I shall be better able then, after reading these papers, to examine the whole matter, to make other inquiries, and to decide what to do."

To this proposition I assented. The next day I met him as appointed, and after lunch went with him to his loft in the *Tribune* building.

He said, when seated at the corner of his old bureau: "Excuse me a few minutes while I write a letter. This time I will not ask you to talk while I write. I am now so much interested in the emigrant scheme that your talk will distract my attention too much." I then took up a paper and waited for the completion of his work. But he did not finish it without interruption; for while he was writing, a boy about fifteen years old came into the room, and standing behind Mr. Greeley's chair near the door, said, "Mr. Greeley, I have come to ask your advice." "Say on," without stopping his

pen or even glancing at the boy. "The only relative I have here is my sister. I have been boarding with her, and she let me have board so cheap that I could earn money enough to pay her and have something left to buy my clothes. Now, I have quarrelled with my sister and am boarding at another place, where they charge me all I can earn for my board (not so good as I had at my sister's), and I have nothing left to pay for clothes. What shall I do?" Mr. Greeley, without looking up or stopping his pen, asked, "Is your sister a married woman?" "Yes, sir." "Is she a respectable woman?" "Certainly, sir." "Go straight to your sister and tell her that you are ashamed of yourself, and ask her forgiveness. If she will take you, go back and live with her; and after this remember that if your own sister is not your friend you will not be likely to find any friend in New York City." The boy left without another word. Mr. Greeley had not seen him and had not stopped writing.

When the boy who had come to seek friendly counsel had departed, with the wise but imperative advice of the great philanthropist ringing in his ears, and Mr. Greeley had finished his letter, he turned to me and said, "I am now ready to examine further the emigration scheme, and wish to ask you several questions."

T. "First, Mr. Greeley, allow me to say a word about what has just occurred in this room, and about what is now going on. A poor boy in distress comes to you as his best friend and adviser.

Though a stranger, he seeks you alone, in a city of several hundred thousand people. This one fact is sufficient proof of your influence at home. To secure your great influence in the Northern States to help break the dominating power of slavery is the mission of a stranger from another State. I can congratulate you upon this evidence of your power and upon the honor these applications do you. They are a higher compliment than I have ever before seen conferred upon any one. Now I am ready for any questions or any objections that occur to you."

G. "What do you think should be done first?"

T. "The first thing to do is to unfold the plan and to advocate it in such a way as to inspire hope of success among the Northern people. As soon as they have any hope they will be ready for action. At present the North is utterly disheartened. For more than thirty years we have been invariably beaten in the halls of Congress. Nothing is more common than the expression 'Slavery has always had its own way and always will have it.' We now propose to move the scene of this contest from Congress to the prairies, where the system of free labor will meet the system of slave labor face to face. If we can unite the North in this movement we are sure to triumph. We have the power, if we only use it, and we shall use it as soon as we have any faith in securing the freedom of Kansas."

G. "What would you do next?"

T. "Advocate the forming of Kansas leagues and emigrant aid companies throughout the North.

Begin to send colonies. Report the starting and progress of every colony. Give them ovations, as they pass, at all the principal places on the route. Make the emigrants feel that they are sure to be sustained by the patriots at home. Create enthusiasm where now there is only despondency. Our Boston company will put in capital, in advance of emigration, so that shelter and many other comforts, heretofore unknown to pioneers, will be ready in Kansas for each new colony."

G. "Here is the most important question of all: can you get men to go from the free States to Kansas, in view of the great sacrifices they will be obliged to make, risking property, peace, and even life itself, for a principle—I might say for patriotism? Remember that the whole power of the Government is against you; that Missouri, crowded with border ruffians, is on the entire eastern border of Kansas, that your emigrants will have a very long journey before reaching Kansas, and more than three hundred miles of it in the slave State of Missouri. Can all these difficulties be overcome?"

T. "They can be and will be. We already have a number of men pledged for our first colony. The next one can be secured with far less effort. It is true that there has never been an emigration of this kind in the world's history—a self-sacrificing emigration. It is now time for this new development, and, with proper effort, it can be made manifest and effective in saving Kansas and destroying slavery. The people of the North, without

distinction of party, hate slavery and are ready to end it in any legal and constitutional way. They will respond to the call of principle and patriotism more and more readily as they see the movement progressing and a chance of success presented. On this matter I am confident, for I have made many speeches upon this subject, and the response of my hearers has been all I could desire. Our emigrants will not be intimidated by border ruffians, nor by all the powers of the Government, if used under the restrictions of the law and the Constitution, as they must be."

G. "I am glad you have some proof already of what the people are willing to do, but will they not become discouraged in case the slave-holders resort to open violence and brutal outrage? What if the border ruffians of Missouri should rush into Kansas, destroy your settlements, and murder or drive out your emigrants?"

T. "If the South gives us fair play we shall easily beat her in the game of emigration; if she gives us foul play we shall beat her all the more certainly, though the struggle may be longer and more severe. To-day she has incurred the bitter hostility of the united North by her bad faith; should this hostility become furious rage, incited by abuse or murder of our peaceful colonies, no man in his senses can doubt the result. Slavery will go down and freedom will triumph. Democrats and Whigs will unite throughout the North, and nothing on the continent can then resist their power."

G. "Will the Free-soil politicians take the stump and aid in raising the colonies?"

T. "I think not. They have said so many times that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise would make a slave State of Kansas, that they may be slow to believe the contrary result possible, and may feel little inclined to contradict their many-times-repeated prophecies. Besides, they would not feel confident of inspiring any hope of success after such a record. For these reasons I do not expect the aid of the politicians. There is another reason also. They have been accustomed to regard the action of Congress as the only thing decisive about slavery in the Territories. The action we propose is entirely independent of Congress. If we can put into Kansas a strong majority of free State men and keep them there, Kansas will be a free State whatever Congress may do or fail to do. The same reasoning will apply to the other departments of the Government."

G. "I think I have a very good understanding of your views upon the whole matter. I have given it much thought, and I have full faith in it. I shall call it the Plan of Freedom, and advocate it to the best of my ability. To-morrow's *Tribune* will give some proof of this."

T. "Mr. Greeley, you are entitled to the thanks of every patriot for your decision. With determined effort on our part, and with your help in arousing and uniting the Northern people in this great work, I feel that the freedom of Kansas is assured. I shall return to Massachusetts in high

hope, and in the month of July the *Tribune* will record the passage through the State of New York of the pioneer Kansas colony."

After the foregoing conversation, now briefly reported, I remained several days in New York, and addressed three meetings of influential citizens called together by written invitations; one in the parlors of the Astor House, one in the chapel of Columbia College, and another in the lecture-room of the Tabernacle. I also began the formation of an Emigrant Aid Company and the New York State Kansas League. I saw Mr. Greeley often, and in each issue of the *Tribune* during my stay he made such appeals for "The Plan of Freedom" as only he could write. These appeals were quoted very widely, and the entire Whig press of the Northern States at once enlisted in the enterprise with great intensity of zeal, inspired by the high hope, sublime faith, and eloquent arguments of Horace Greeley. Kansas Leagues began at once to be formed in the Middle and Western States; and as the great struggle progressed in Kansas many of the rank and file of the two great political parties in the free States drew nearer and nearer together, until they finally met and were consolidated in the Republican party. This party, deriving its life and strength from the Kansas contest, came near electing Fremont in 1856, and did elect Lincoln in 1860. Below are some extracts from Mr. Greeley's editorials above referred to.

The *New York Tribune* of May 29, 1854, contained a long account of the organization and

purpose of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, with the charter and report of the committee printed in full. The following is an extract from Mr. Greeley's editorial comment:

"Such, in brief, is the plan offered to the earnest and philanthropic men of the free States who desire to prevent the spread of slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, and to secure the early admission of those Territories into the Union as free States. To all those who are anxious to do something in the present crisis to repair the wrong just committed at Washington, it offers a wide and hopeful field of effort. Here is abundant opportunity for all who have money to invest or a heart to labor in the great cause of freedom. The scheme strikes us as singularly well adapted to secure the objects in view. Properly managed, and in the hands of discreet and responsible men, it cannot fail to accomplish the noble and generous purpose at which it aims, and at the same time it promises to eventually return to every contributor all of his original outlay, with a handsome recompense for its use. From this plan, thus briefly shadowed forth, we entertain a confident hope of the most satisfactory results, and cordially commend it to public attention.

"It will be seen that a meeting of the stockholders is to be held on the first Wednesday of June in Boston. Meanwhile, subscriptions can be made, by those who desire to do so, at the office of this paper, either by letter or in person. The co-operation of the friends of the enterprise in this city is earnestly desired, and a gentleman from Massachusetts is now here for the purpose of obtaining it."

This was followed by a series of powerful editorials, which fully unfolded the new Plan of Freedom, as Mr. Greeley called it, and set forth its merits in a forcible and convincing manner, urging the formation of emigrant societies throughout the North.

In the *Tribune* of May 30th he said:

"The Plan of Freedom set forth in yesterday's *Tribune* has been eagerly seized upon by some of our best and most distinguished citizens, and a private preliminary meeting will be immediately held in furtherance of its suggestions. . . .

"The organization of a powerful association of large capital in the aid of human freedom is a step in a new direction of philanthropic effort, which may well enlist the sympathies of the unselfish and benevolent not only of this country but of all mankind.

"In view of the monstrous wrongs that slavery is at this hour meditating, in view of the enormity it has just perpetrated, the heart of every man who has one spark of humanity in his bosom must be stirred, as with the sound of a trumpet, by the suggestion of a remedy so simple, so comprehensive, and so practical. . . .

"The great labors of the world have been performed by association. Our societies for the spread of the Bible and the diffusion of Christianity, and our other varied combinations for benevolent objects, all demonstrate the immense power of well-directed associative effort."

From the *Tribune* of May 31, 1854:

"The Plan of Freedom, which we put forth in Monday's paper, already awakens an echo in the public mind. In addition to further active steps of the gentlemen in the city who have taken hold of the subject, we have received voluntary offers of subscription by letter, together with the most fervent expressions of zeal and determination from all quarters to rally in defence of freedom, and in opposition to the gigantic schemes of aggression started by the Slave Power. The contest already takes the form of the people against tyranny and slavery. The whole crowd of slave-drivers and traitors, backed by a party organization, a corrupt majority in Congress, a soulless partisan press, and administration with its paid officers armed with revolvers and sustained by the bayonets of a mercenary soldiery, will all together prove totally insufficient to cope with an aroused people.

"We extract from our correspondence as follows:

"'*To the Editor of the New York Tribune:*

"'Having watched with much interest the incipient movements in Massachusetts to form the Emigrant Aid Society, and

having great faith in such an enterprise, if confided to proper hands, I am much gratified to find by your paper of this day that the organization is so far completed as to admit the opening of subscriptions. Wishing to aid the enterprise out of my feeble ability, I request you to insert my name in the subscription for five hundred dollars ($500). . . .

"'The day of deliverance dawns. The spirit of freedom shall awake. Yours for Liberty.'

"Another correspondent, who sends a subscription for $10,000, writes as follows:

"'Need I say how delighted I am at the prospect of the "Plan of Freedom?" In a work so hopeful, so just, so grandly comprehensive, so prophetic of results potential, victorious, and final, I enter with a full soul, heart, hand, and purse; and sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give myself to this great work, in the full confidence that souls are here enlisted who know no tie but that of universal brotherhood, no end but that of unselfish devotion to common humanity. May I ask of you the favor to hand in my subscription for one hundred shares of stock of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company? The golden age—the blessed age of peace—is not for us! Patience and faith, and combat, labor, and toil, are ours. Let us accept the gifts meekly but manfully, rejoicing that our Master counts us worthy to follow him in the mighty travail of a world's regeneration.'"

From the *New York Tribune* of June 1, 1854:

"THE PLAN OF FREEDOM.—The friends of this measure who have had the subject in hand held a meeting at the Astor House last evening, at which President King, of Columbia College, presided. There was quite a full attendance of gentlemen, who felt a deep interest in the subject. A committee was appointed to superintend the business of obtaining subscriptions, and to represent the subscribers in the meeting of the society to be held in Boston on Wednesday next. . . .

"We are in receipt of additional letters, making inquiries and tendering further subscription. The plan is received by all with pre-eminent favor, and enlists the warmest sympathies of the friends of freedom. . . . The plan is no less than to found free cities and to extemporize free States. Let it be made the great enterprise of the age."

CHAPTER IV.

THE WORK BEGUN. — CHARITY VS. BUSINESS IN MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE.

HAVING now secured the invaluable aid of Mr. Greeley, and additional subscriptions to the stock of the company, so that the whole amount pledged was more than one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, I returned to Boston. While I had been away some one had raised a danger-signal where there was no danger. Some one had decided that under our charter there possibly might be individual liability of the stockholders. There was no reason for this apprehension, as was afterwards admitted by the very persons who used the argument, and who but a year later very much deplored their action. But there was no time then to argue the question, for we were ready to use funds, and they must be had without delay, as the first colony was nearly ready to begin its journey to Kansas. So it was arranged that the business of the company should be put into the hands of three trustees until the next meeting of the Legislature, when a new charter, adapted to the views of the Boston subscribers, could be obtained.

The following, from Professor Spring's "Kansas," page 30, gives this history as follows:

"No organization was ever effected under the first charter. It saddled objectionable monetary liabilities upon the individuals who might associate under it, and was abandoned. The whole business then passed into the hands of Thayer, Lawrence, and J. M. S. Williams, who were constituted trustees, and managed affairs in a half-personal fashion until February, 1855, when a second charter was obtained and an association formed with a slightly rephrased title—'The New England Emigrant Aid Company'—and with John Carter Brown, of Providence, Rhode Island, as president. In the conduct of the company, the trustees, who bridged the interval between the first and second charters, continued to be a chief directive and inspirational force. Mr. Thayer preached the gospel of organized emigration with tireless and successful enthusiasm, while Mr. Lawrence discharged the burdensome but all-important duties of treasurer. Among the twenty original directors were Dr. Samuel Cabot, Jr., John Lowell, and William B. Spooner, of Boston; J. P. Williston, Northampton; Charles H. Bigelow, Lawrence; and Nathan Durfee, Fall River. The list of directors was subsequently enlarged to thirty-eight, and included the additional names of Dr. S. G. Howe, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, Boston; George L. Stearns, Medford; Horace Bushnell, Hartford, Connecticut; Prof. Benjamin Silliman, Sr., New Haven, Connecticut; and Moses H. Grinnell, New York. The company in its reorganized shape receded, at least temporarily, from all wholesale projects, and devoted itself to the problem of planting free-labor towns in Kansas."*

* The following is a full list of officers of the New England Emigrant Aid Company:

President: John Carter Brown, Providence; *Vice-Presidents:* Eli Thayer, Worcester, J. M. S. Williams, Cambridge; *Treasurer:* Amos A. Lawrence, Boston; *Secretary:* Thomas H. Webb, Boston; *Directors:* William B. Spooner, Samuel Cabot, Jr., John Lowell, C. J. Higginson, Le Baron Russell, Boston, William J. Rotch, New Bedford, J. P. Williston, Northampton, W. Dudley Pickman, Salem, R. P. Waters, Beverly, Reuben A. Chapman, Springfield, John Nesmith, Lowell, Charles H. Bigelow, Lawrence, Nathan Durfee, Fall River, William Willis, Portland, Me., Franklin Muzzy, Bangor, Me., Ichabod Goodwin, Portsmouth, N. H., Thomas M. Edwards, Keene, N. H., Albert Day, Hartford, Conn.

Bryant and Gay's "History of the United States," vol. iv., p. 408, has the following:

"In the Eastern States, Eli Thayer conceived the organization of emigration, with a view of directing it to Kansas. On the 20th of April, before the Nebraska Act passed Congress, he and his friends were incorporated as the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company. They were permitted to hold a capital of five million dollars. A ready exaggeration, made in a hostile interest, announced that they had this capital. In fact, that company had not collected twenty thousand dollars when the year closed. But the fame of its wealth answered the purpose as well as the possession. Undecided men were willing to throw in their chances where an organization supposed to be so strong led the way. The glove thrown down too hastily in a challenge to the Northern emigrant was taken up on the instant. In the last days of July, as soon as the Territory was open to settlement, the pioneer party of the Emigrant Aid Company took up claims at a point now known as Lawrence. Before winter, this company had sent from New England five hundred emigrants. From other free States had poured in enough more to make a population of eight thousand."

It is true, as Mr. Bryant says, that the books of our Boston company, at the close of the year 1854, contained the names of only five hundred emigrants. But these colonies received accessions all the way from Boston to Kansas, so that often their numbers were more than doubled—sometimes quadrupled.

The office of the company was in Boston. Nearly all the country relied upon to furnish emigrants lies between Boston and Kansas. The emigrants from Maine, from eastern Massachusetts, and from the southern part of New Hampshire were, for the most part, registered in the Boston office, and

made into colonies there. These, all told, were a very small portion of the number that went through the influence of this company. Hundreds of Kansas leagues and Kansas committees were formed, through the assistance and example of the parent organization, in all the Northern States. I lately opened a file of the *New York Tribune* for 1854. In the issue of July 4th I find an account of a Kansas emigration society, of which Cadwallader Wallace was president, organized in Ross County, Ohio, and in the issue of July 10th I find an account of our own Worcester County organization, of which Alexander H. Bullock was president, William T. Merrifield vice-president, and Henry Chapin, William A. Wheeler, Charles Thurber, Horace James, and Oliver C. Fenton were directors. Thus, at home, within forty-four miles of Boston, it was thought best to have a fully equipped company ready for action.

In New Haven, Conn., the famous Charles B. Lines Colony was formed, consisting of seventy-nine well-armed men. I went to that city three times, made three addresses there (two of them in Rev. Dr. Bacon's church), and had several conferences with President Woolsey, Dr. Bacon, Professor Silliman, Professor Twining, and others, in which I urged the forming of this colony. From hundreds of other places colonies, parties, and individuals went to Kansas through the influence of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, whose names were never recorded in the Boston books, and who never visited our office. What

influences gave the company such far-reaching power?

First. The press had advertised far and near that the Emigrant Aid Company were ready to use all the money needed in building towns in Kansas; that they were sending out steam-engines, saw-mills, grist-mills, and other machinery; that they were building hotels and boarding-houses; that they were establishing newspapers, churches, and schools. From these facts emigrants inferred readily enough that in these incipient cities, with organized emigration flowing in rapidly, there would be an excellent prospect for making money by the rise of property. The press also reported the ovations which each colony received all the way from Boston to Chicago, the cheers and the god-speeds awaiting them at every principal railroad-station, in the grand crusade for freedom.

Second. Best of all, and most powerful in securing emigrants for Kansas, was the argument of patriotism. Kansas was to be secured to freedom. Where, but a little while before, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise had extinguished all hope and left only despair, faith and hope revived, and the glorious freedom-loving processions moved on. In every town and hamlet, from Maine to the Mississippi River, the Boston company's work was discussed and applauded.

Another important point in estimating the work of these Kansas societies, leagues, and committees is that they sent out "men only," with very rare exceptions. In the enumeration of the people of the

Territory, at the end of 1854, the entire number was a little more than eight thousand. More than half the voters in that eight thousand went to Kansas directly or indirectly through the influence of the Emigrant Aid Company. When the Missourians moved into Kansas to settle, they took their families with them. Hence, it would take at least five Missourians in the enumeration to equal at the polls one of our Eastern or Northern emigrants, who left their families at home until they could provide for them in the Territory. The C. B. Lines Colony of seventy-nine able-bodied men were equal at the polls to three hundred and ninety-five Missourians in the enumeration of all the people.

The books of the Boston company show the names of about three thousand emigrants in all. It is safe to say that these numbers were doubled before they reached Kansas. If we consider that these were almost all men, who left their families at home for one or two years, and that each one represented five in the Territorial enumeration, we get an aggregate of over thirty thousand from this company during the three years of the crusade. But many of the accessions were furnished by Kansas leagues along the route from Boston to Kansas. There were many leagues, however, in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, southern New York, southern Ohio, and Indiana, which sent their emigrants by a nearer route than that used by the Boston company. They were all, however, acting in concert, since they were all loyal to the

Plan of Freedom, and had a common origin and common purpose.

In the *New York Tribune* of August 30, 1856, there is an account of one of our colonies which left Boston numbering less than one hundred, but increased by accessions along the route until, in Iowa, near their destination, they numbered three hundred and eighty-four. From numerous instances of this kind, it will be seen that the power of the Boston company in this conflict should not be measured by the number of emigrants recorded in their books.

The charter of the company having been abandoned, and the plan of trustees for the ensuing year substituted, we immediately began the collection of money for immediate use. It was decided that a capital of $200,000 would be sufficient for the Kansas work. In fact, the company did not use in all over $140,000, and this small sum was contributed during three years, mainly as a charity, and without hope of returns. My original plan was, as we have seen, to form a business company, to be conducted upon business principles, able to make good dividends to its stockholders annually, and at its close, a full return of all the money originally invested. To have done this would have required no marvellous financial skill. We should have had the power to build cities and towns wherever we might choose to locate them, and could invest money in western Missouri land as well as in Kansas. Twelve acres of land, now in the very centre of

Kansas City, were offered to us for $3000. The same tract is now worth several millions. I urged the purchase of this and of other land in that place, but my associates opposed my views, and the purchases were not made. The main objection of my associates to my original plan of a money-making company, was a fear that people might say that we were influenced by pecuniary considerations in our patriotic work for Kansas. Therefore, they did not desire any return for any money invested. So we went on the charity plan, and were never one-half so efficient as we would have been by the other method, and were fully twice as long in determining the destiny of Kansas.

It was my purpose, when I wrote that charter, to be done with Kansas in 1855, and then, without loss of time, and with increased capital, to have bought up large tracts of worn-out lands in Virginia. Of these it was my purpose to give one-half, in forty-acre lots, to our immigrants from the free States. The remaining half would be worth not less than four times the whole cost, as soon as the immigrants had occupied their homesteads. Two years of such work, by such a company, in Virginia, would have made her as secure for the Union in 1861 as Massachusetts was.

I had not then, and have not now, the slightest respect for that pride in charity which excludes from great philanthropic enterprises the strength and the effectiveness of money-making.

There are supporters of missionary societies who make from the traffic in ardent spirits the money they contribute, who would doubtless oppose the plan of making such societies self-sustaining by sharing in the property which they create. Why is it worse for a company to make money by extending Christianity than by making cotton cloth? More than thirty years ago I spoke before several missionary meetings, urging the adoption of this plan of self-supporting missions. At that time there were too many objectors in authority who did not think it wise to "lower the Christian standard" so much as to reap a profit from Christian work to insure further Christian progress. But Bishop Taylor has recently been using this method in Africa with much success. This is now the exception; at a later day it will become the rule.*

The truth is, that the highest civilization is the greatest creator of wealth. She is the modern Midas, with power to turn everything she touches into gold. Properly equipped, and with proper direction, she will conquer and supplant any inferior condition of men. This she will do without your money or mine, but with her own. Even a small share in the wealth which she creates will speedily carry her round the world in strength and majesty. Then she will move as a queen. Now

* The views of the author in favor of self-supporting missionary societies were fully presented in *The New Englander*, in 1858, vol. xvi., p. 847.

she limps like a beggar on crutches, waiting for pennies, nickels, and dimes, extorted by pitiful appeals. To such humiliation is she subjected by the ignorance of her devotees, and by their false notions of charity. Even her servants, who scorn to "mingle the spiritual with the worldly," have need of food and clothing and shelter. These they secure by contributions. If their mistress had but a fraction of the wealth which she creates, she could feed and clothe and shelter them all, as a reward for their services, and thus raise them far above the need of charitable contributions.

Now, if we apply the above reasoning to an organized, peaceful competition of free labor with slave labor in the former slave States, it will be readily seen with what certainty freedom would have been sustained. The Constitution of the United States, so fiercely denounced by the Garrison disunionists as "a league with death and a covenant with hell," gave Freedom the power, whenever she chose to use it, to extinguish slavery.

In the provision that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," there was laid (though perhaps without that design) the cornerstone for freedom in all the States. Now, if it was true, as the census proved, and as all the people of the free States maintained and believed, that our civilization was superior to that of the slave States, then we were at liberty at any time to go into the inferior States and establish free labor there. We were not only at liberty to do this, but we had a

very great inducement to do it. Suppose that an organization under a charter like the one first granted to the Emigrant Aid Company, with a capital of $5,000,000, had begun in earnest to colonize Virginia with emigrants from the North, and had secured large tracts of land at the slave-State prices of $2, or even $3, per acre, whereon to locate the free-State settlers, these same lands would have been doubled, trebled, or quadrupled in value as soon as they were thus occupied. There was really no limit to the profit ready for an energetic and able company, in thus changing slave States to free. In fact, such a company could well have afforded to pay for all the slaves in the States so redeemed. But this they would not have been expected to do, and would not have done. In a few years, however, they could have driven all the slave-holders to the shores of the Mexican Gulf.

CHAPTER V.

DIFFICULTIES AND DISCOURAGEMENTS.—THE FOUNDING OF LAWRENCE.

HAVING now accepted the charity plan, since there was no time to be wasted in arguing for the original and better one, I immediately returned to the work of completing our first colony, which had been suspended during my absence in New York City. The difficulty which attended my efforts can be inferred from the fact that I made not far from fifty speeches to secure the little colony of twenty-nine men. There was very little faith in our enterprise up to this point. The friends of the young men who had engaged to go were generally very despondent, and often said that the scheme would result only in failure, and a great if not a fatal loss to those who were so daring as to enlist in it. Slavery had the prestige of such continuous and prolonged success that even the most ardent of antislavery men scarcely dared to hope for any favorable result against such odds. The Southern papers, too, were full of their arrogant boasting and threats, which served to intimidate the less daring of our emigrants. All this, however, was eventually of great service to our cause, since it eliminated, from the beginning, certain cowardly elements which it was far from desirable to retain.

Even some Northern journals were ready to express confidence in the success of the slave power in Kansas. Such papers, however, were very few.

Here is an editorial from the *Lynchburg* (Va.) *Republican* of July 1, 1854, not only expressing the greatest confidence in the success of slavery in Kansas, but also attempting to intimidate our emigrants by threats of abuse and outrage after reaching their destination:

"The *Worcester Spy* announces that the first band of emigrants for Kansas under the charge of the Emigrant Aid Company will start from Boston on the 17th inst. We wish them the utmost success their hearts can desire in getting there, for the hardy pioneers of Kansas will doubtless have tar and feathers prepared in abundance for their reception. Kansas is open for settlement both to the North and the South. Slavery has been kept out of Territories by Congressional enactments, but has never failed to carry the day and firmly establish itself upon new Territories when allowed to enter."

Another similar specimen is the following editorial in the *Kansas Pioneer*, a newspaper which frequently derided our emigrants as "the hired paupers of Eli Thayer & Co.":

"We want to see a pro-slavery Legislature to a man, or at least a large majority of the friends of Southern institutions represent our interests in the halls of legislation. We want to be governed by sound laws, and pro-slavery men only are competent to make such laws. Under their banner we have always done battle, and under their guardianship we shall ever be found battling. We have no sympathy for Abolitionists, and the sooner they are made to believe that the squatters of Kansas Territory have no sympathy for their black, nefarious, contemptible dogmas the better. We want no negro-sympathizing thieves among us; they will be running off our slaves whenever a chance offers.

Their hearts are as black as the darkest deeds of hell. Away with them; send them back where they belong. Up with the banner and shout of slavery, now and forever, in our land.... Down with every Abolition barrier that dare impede our way!"

It would be easy to fill a volume with the editorials of Southern journals in 1854, denouncing the Emigrant Aid Company, and attempting by threats of bowie-knives, revolvers, tar and feathers, hemp, and grape-vines, to intimidate and discourage the emigrants to Kansas from the Northern States. While these efforts were, no doubt, powerful in deterring the more timid and irresolute of our intended colonists from joining in the great crusade, they served to stimulate the more daring, and to intensify their determination to assert and maintain their rights. Thousands of our young men looked upon such threats as great inducements to take an active part and have a personal interest in the new migration.

As a fit description of the pioneer Kansas colony which founded Lawrence, and prepared the way for numerous emigrants who followed them, either singly or in companies, I insert the following editorial from the *Christian Register* of July 22, 1854:

"The first pioneer company of New England men bound for Kansas left last Monday. They were twenty-nine in number, bound on such enterprises as will facilitate the settlement of those who are to follow, and reduce to a minimum the exposure of frontier life. So soon as the season permits, and the country is legally open for settlers, large numbers will pour in. The best results of our farms, of our colleges, of our workshops, and of our professional schools—of early enterprise in distant countries and of careful study of the rights of men—were brought together

in that little company. The pioneer body was one of the best representations possible of New England character. From what we see and know of them, we should not be sorry to see them matched against any twenty-nine they may meet in their travels."

The above description is truthful and just, within certain limits, but it does not exhibit the moral excellence and the devotion to principle of the pioneer Kansas colony. This was the beginning of a self-sacrificing emigration such as the world's history had never before shown.

A writer in the *Christian Examiner* for July, 1855, concludes an exhaustive article upon the notable migrations of history by awarding the highest honor to the Kansas pioneers, as follows:

"Looking back upon the champions of civil and religious liberty, upon the philanthropists of other times, and all the 'goodly array of martyrs,' we see those who to their own age were a mere nebula of erratic spirits, shapeless and unsymmetrical, resolved under our distant telescopic view into stars of the first magnitude. We see the light which they originated or reflected, and the multitudes of weary, wandering mortals who have been guided to certainty and peace by the aid of their far-penetrating rays, but we do not see, and we do not want to see, the coarse and very earth-like materials of which they were, after all, composed. The great movements of the past are revealed to us, in all their massive grandeur, by the light of their results. The changes going on in our own time, and conducted by ordinary mortals on our own level, are colored by the involuntary prejudices which intimacy and detail excite, and are examined by the varying light of our own interests and passions. Candor is scarcely possible under the circumstances, even if the future is apprehended in the present.

"To some there seems little in this age which posterity shall call heroic, or the memory of which they shall love to cherish; yet there is a movement now in progress which we believe is destined to stand recorded in future ages as second to none in the

purity and nobleness of its object, or in the vast results to humanity involved in its ultimate success. Goths, Celts, and Anglo-Americans have been impelled to distant migrations by the hope of spoils; religious propagandists by force and fraud have changed old lands for new; and the slaves of taskmasters and the victims of conscience-binders have alike fled for refuge to the wilderness, some for physical, some for spiritual compensation. But it was reserved to the present age and to the present period to afford the sublimer spectacle of an extensive migration *in vindication of a principle;* a principle which is to benefit not the emigrants but others, and those others of a degraded race and of a different color.

"The future will not have to record of the emigrants to Kansas that they were forced out of their old homes by dissensions, oppressions, or even such incompatibility of sentiment with the communities they left as made their position uncomfortable to themselves or others. Neither the blight of famine nor an overcrowded population darkened their prospects in the home of their fathers. Neither pressure from without, nor the beckonings of ambition, nor the monitions of avarice, control the great Kansas migration. Not for themselves or for those identified with their interests, not even for their peers or ancient allies, to whom association and mutual remembrances have attached them—no, none of all these things move them. The great motor-power is the love of freedom, and its special impetus the sympathy of a superior race (certainly as far as condition is concerned) with an inferior, and for a people who can neither appreciate nor repay the sacrifice. In the unselfishness of the object lies its claim to the highest regard, and its right to the highest place in the history of migrations.

"The genuineness of the movement is evidenced by the entire absence of coercive circumstances, such as have aided other migrations, in which the love of freedom was a principal ingredient. And in this unselfishness the Kansas migration is representative of the age. Not that selfishness is dead, or disinterested benevolence a universal or even a very extended basis of action; but the philanthropy of the present has far more of this character than had that of any former age. . . .

"The Kansas migration is the boldest exponent of this enlightened philanthropy. It meets a gaunt and dismal fact by

creating a more vital and self-perpetuating fact. The spirit of freedom which it embodies is no longer content to meet a usurpation with a 'resolution,' but goes out in its strength to unseat the intruder. In the appropriateness of the means is the earnest of victory.

"Nor may the participators in enterprises such as this be justly depreciated by the suspicion of mixed motives. Few indeed are the actions of men which result from an isolated impulse, opinion, or thought; complexity of motive is almost inseparable from human action; nor is it always easy to define with precision the exact weight attached to each motive. But in judging of these great movements which affect humanity, and in deciding on the just meed of praise due to the participators, it is sufficient to know that had the greatest and best motive been absent, their co-operation would have been wanting; that whatever collateral influences were brought to bear on them, the great central idea was paramount, without which all others would have proved ineffectual. Will not after-ages, then, decide that the Kansas migration was purer and more unselfish, even, than that which found its haven at Plymouth Rock? The old homes of Old England were abandoned in obedience to the mandates of conscience; the old homes of New England are deserted in vindication of the Christ-like principle of universal love. The pioneer band who have planted their standard in the centre of the confederacy that they may redeem a continent to freedom shall never find their laurels paling, even beside the glory-crowns of those who first planted free institutions on its eastern slope."

The country has properly, on all occasions and in every way, conceded high honor to the brave men who enlisted in the war for the Union; but the Kansas emigrants, who volunteered to become a barrier against the extension of slavery, enlisted in an enterprise which at the time seemed more hazardous than the war against secession. The soldier had food, clothing, arms, transportation, shelter, pay, and care in sickness provided by the

Government. These emigrants provided all these necessaries for themselves, at their own expense. It seems marvellous even now that men could be found so patriotic and resolute as to risk everything for the cause of freedom. The public has never yet done justice to these noblest specimens of the human race. Mr. Whittier, in his "Emigrants' Song," says:

> "We cross the prairies as of old
> Our fathers crossed the sea;
> To make the West, as they the East,
> The homestead of the free."

But there is a wide difference between these Kansas emigrants and the Plymouth pilgrims. The latter fled from oppression, and sought in the new world "freedom to worship God." The former migrated to meet, to resist, and to destroy oppression, in vindication of their principles. These were self-sacrificing emigrants, the others were self-seeking. Justice, though tardy in its work, will yet load with the highest honors the memory of the heroic Kansas pioneers who gave themselves and all they had to the sacred cause of human rights.

This pioneer colony left Boston on the 17th of July, 1854. Immense crowds had gathered at the station to give them the parting godspeed and the pledge of their future cordial care. They moved out of the station amid the cheering crowds who lined the track for several blocks. The fact of this intense public interest impelled others to prepare to join the colony, intending to go one month later.

Such was the effect of the public enthusiasm—an earnest, sufficient for the thoughtful, of certain success in the future.

The emigrants remained in Worcester the first night and received a suitable ovation. Several of the leading citizens called upon them and applauded their patriotic devotion, pledging remembrance and aid in any emergency. Two Worcester mechanics, Mr. Fuller and Mr. Mallory, here joined the colony.

The next day I took charge of the party, and we were met in the evening at Albany by a good number of the citizens, who welcomed us with great cordiality. The next day we were cheered at all the principal stations as we passed on our westward journey, until we reached Rochester. Here a very large crowd had gathered to welcome and cheer the party. The president of the Monroe County Bible Society made an address, and presented the colony with a large and elegant Bible; so that Mr. Whittier's poem, subsequently written, was historically correct in saying:

> "Upbearing, as the ark of old,
> The Bible in our van."

Much to our delight, Rochester furnished us two recruits—a Dr. Doy, and a youth of great promise, and afterwards of great performance, D. R. Anthony. From that day forward to the end of the great conflict, Mr. Anthony devoted himself with tireless energy to the work of making Kansas free. He is now living to witness and enjoy in wealth

and honor the grand results of that great achievement.

On the evening of that day I put the little colony on board the steamer *Plymouth Rock*, in Buffalo, to cross the lake. I was obliged to return East to begin the work of raising the second colony; but before taking leave of my charge, I wrote a letter to Charles H. Branscomb, our agent in Kansas, who was to meet this party in St. Louis. The letter directed him to lead the colony up the valley of the Kaw River, through the Shawnee reservation, and locate them on the south side of the river, on the first good town-site west of the Shawnees. Mr. Branscomb, in accordance with my direction, founded the celebrated city of Lawrence, subsequently the centre of the free-State power, and now the seat of the State University, and of the famous Indian school, the Haskell Institute.

During the entire journey from Worcester to Buffalo I had been carefully considering where it would be best to locate the first colony. It seemed wise to plant the first town at such a distance from the Missouri line that it could not be easily assailed by hostile forces from that State without ample notice to our people and some chance for preparations for defence. I therefore decided that our town should be about fifty miles from Missouri. I chose the valley of the Kaw as being in the central portion of the Territory, and destined at an early day to have railway communication with the East. I chose the south bank of the Kaw, so that the Platte Purchase of Missouri and the new town

would have two wide rivers between them. These were the main reasons for the specific directions in my letter to Mr. Branscomb.

The history of the Kansas contest abundantly justified the selection made. The following quotation from Senator Wilson's History gives a correct idea of the decisive work of the Emigrant Aid Company:

"The Emigrant Aid Societies of New England, though freedom in Kansas was one object, had others which, with their methods, were indicated by their name. Their purpose and plan were to aid those who would procure lands and make for themselves homes in the new Territory. They contemplated only peaceful modes, though the emigrants themselves were of course compelled to resort to such means of self-defence as the 'border-ruffian' policy rendered imperative.

"The New England Emigrant Aid Society, the first and most prominent of these free-State organizations, originated with Eli Thayer, of Worcester, Massachusetts, a member of the Legislature of that State in 1854. Preparing a charter, he procured an Act of Incorporation early in that year. Immediately on the adjournment of that body he entered upon the work, in which he was greatly aided by Amos A. Lawrence and J. M. S. Williams, of Massachusetts, and John Carter Brown, of Rhode Island. Success crowned his labors; the association was organized, and on the 17th of July he started with a company of twenty-four for that far-off land. As the successful working up of his plan required his presence at the East, he accompanied them only as far as Buffalo. . . .

"In August, another colony, and much larger, came. With their New England outfit was a steam saw-mill. The new-comers entered in earnest upon the work of making themselves a home on that inviting spot, and soon their canvas tents gave place to more substantial structures. Among the members of the second company were Dr. Charles Robinson and Samuel C. Pomeroy, the one becoming the first governor under the free-State Constitution, and the latter subsequently a member of the United States Senate.

"This organized effort of free-State men, and the fact that they had formed a settlement, and that the town of Lawrence had actually taken form and name, produced a marked impression both North and South. At the North it kindled anew hopes which the course of events had wellnigh extinguished. . . . Not only did several additional colonies go from Massachusetts and the other New England States, but similar colonies were formed in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. To this work Mr. Thayer devoted himself with tireless energy and unceasing effort. Fully impressed with the idea that the free States had the power to secure in this way freedom to the Territories, he travelled sixty thousand miles, and made hundreds of speeches enunciating these views, and calling upon the people to join in this grand crusade." *

* Wilson's "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America," vol. ii., p. 465.

CHAPTER VI.

THE IMPOTENCE OF THE ANTISLAVERY DISUNIONISTS.

THE Puritans of the *Mayflower* were opposed to slavery.

The first legislative assembly of white men in New England made a law that "no bond slavery, villeinage, or captivitie should ever exist in the Massachusetts Colony."

Slavery never had a legal existence in Massachusetts, as was proved in the Quirk Walker case in Barre, Worcester County, during the Revolutionary War.

In 1787 the entire country was opposed to the extension of slavery, and considered it a great evil. The ordinance introduced by Thomas Jefferson in 1784 was passed in 1787 with but one dissenting vote, given by a New York member. Though that ordinance was of no practical use—only an expression of opinion, or a manifesto—its existence upon the statute-book served to show the hostility of the people of this country to chattel slavery.

While the people of the Northern States were nearly unanimous in their hatred of slavery, and were anxious that the entire country should be rescued from its curse, they still regarded the destruction of the Government as a calamity infinitely

greater. They watched the development of our national progress, and hoped for a solution of the question between the North and the South without the loss of the Union. Patiently waiting, and restraining all impulsive feelings, they were ready for effective action whenever the proper time should come.

Benjamin Lundy, however, was impatient of delay, and earnestly devoted himself to the patriotic work of hastening his country's deliverance. Born of Quaker parents, in the State of New Jersey, in 1789, he worked upon his father's farm until nineteen years of age, when he wandered westward to Wheeling, Virginia, where he learned by actual observation the curse of slavery to all connected with it, both black and white. In 1815, when twenty-six years of age, he organized an antislavery society, by the name of the "Union Humane Society." The first meeting was held at his own house, and consisted of less than a dozen persons. Within a few months the membership was increased to several hundred, and included many prominent men in his own and adjoining counties. In 1816 he published an "Appeal to Philanthropists," which contained the germ of his future antislavery work. After this he travelled much in the slave States, and organized many antislavery societies in the very home of slavery. At length he started a paper called the *Genius of Universal Emancipation.* During the summer of 1824 he travelled on foot through the States of Virginia and North Carolina, making addresses and forming antislavery socie-

ties. In October of that year he reached Baltimore, and there resumed at once the publication of the *Genius*. He was highly esteemed and well sustained in the slave States. Feeble in body and far from robust in mind, he still had the heart of a true philanthropist and the devotion of the early Christian martyrs.

In the autumn of 1828 Lundy came to Massachusetts to form antislavery societies, to co-operate with those which he had already established in the slave States. He delivered an address in the Town-hall in Worcester on the 20th of August, and the two papers of the city comment upon it as follows:

"Mr. Lundy, from a long residence in the Southern States, could speak from personal knowledge of the feelings of the people there. A majority of them, and even of the slave-holders, are desirous of abolishing the slave system as soon as it can be done with prudence."—*Massachusetts Yeoman*, August 23, 1828.

The *Spy* of September 3d says:

"In the slave States a great number, and probably a majority, of the people are anxious to be freed from the evil of slavery as soon as it can prudently be done."

Lundy next went to Boston upon the same mission, and addressed a meeting of clergymen, urging a friendly co-operation with the people of the South in extinguishing slavery. That he produced a decided effect upon his audience is proved by the following letter, written directly after the meeting, by Rev. Dr. William E. Channing to Hon. Daniel Webster:

"BOSTON, *May* 14, 1823.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I wish to call your attention to a subject of general interest.

"A little while ago, Mr. Lundy, of Baltimore, the editor of a paper called the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, visited this part of the country to stir up the work of abolishing slavery at the South, and the intention is to organize societies for this purpose. I know few objects into which I should enter with more zeal, but I am aware how cautiously exertions are to be made for it in this part of the country. I know that our Southern brethren interpret every word from this region on the subject of slavery as an expression of hostility. I would ask if they cannot be brought to understand us better, and if we can do any good till we remove their misapprehensions? It seems to me that before moving in this matter we ought to say to them distinctly, 'We consider slavery as your calamity, not your crime, and we will share with you the burden of putting an end to it. We will consent that the public lands shall be appropriated to this object, or that the General Government shall be clothed with power to apply a portion of the revenue to it.'

"I throw out these suggestions merely to illustrate my views. We must first let the Southern States see that we are their *friends* in this affair; that we sympathize with them, and, from principles of patriotism and philanthropy, are willing to share the toil and expense of abolishing slavery, or I fear our interference will avail nothing. I am the more sensitive on this subject from my increased solicitude for the preservation of the Union. I know no public interest so important as this. I ask from the General Government hardly any other boon than that it will hold us together, and preserve pacific relations and intercourse between the States. I deprecate everything which sows discord and exasperates sectional animosities. If it will simply keep us at peace, and will maintain in full power the national courts for the purpose of settling quietly among citizens of different States questions which might otherwise be settled by arms, I shall be satisfied.

"My fear in regard to our efforts against slavery is that we shall make the cause worse by rousing a sectional pride and passion for its support, and that we shall break the country into two great parties, which may shake the foundations of the Government.

"I have written to you because your situation gives you advantages which perhaps no other man enjoys for understanding the method, if any can be devised, by which we may operate beneficially and safely in regard to slavery. Appeals will probably be made soon to the people here, and I wish that wise men would save us from the rashness of enthusiasts, and from the perils to which our very virtues expose us.

"With great respect, your friend,

"WILLIAM E. CHANNING.

"Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER."

But unfortunately, Lundy, while in Boston, happened to board in the same house with a young printer by the name of William Lloyd Garrison. This youth had formed no definite ideas upon the subject of slavery, but under the tuition of Lundy became a convert to antislavery, and accompanied him to Baltimore to assist in publishing his paper. This journal was sustained mainly by subscribers and advertisers in the slave States, where he had been doing his quiet but effective antislavery work.

As soon, however, as Garrison began to write for the paper a fierce hostility was aroused among the slave-holders. George Alfred Townsend, in a letter to the Boston *Globe*, calls these disunionists "the snorting Abolitionists," and describes the result of Garrison's connection with Lundy as follows:

"When Garrison went to Baltimore City, about 1829, to join Benjamin Lundy in the publication of an emancipation newspaper, there were some three hundred societies in the slave States, bottomed upon a moral dissatisfaction with the institution of slavery.

"When Mr. Garrison got to Baltimore he changed the methods of Mr. Lundy, who was a Quakerly sort of person, and began to attack individuals as if they were personally responsible for

the status of slavery. So in a little while there were personal inquisitors, and all the work which Lundy had done dissolved."

It is much to be deplored that at this time, when there was a friendly feeling between the North and the South, and a disposition to co-operate in getting rid of slavery, that the work begun by Lundy and approved by Dr. Channing should have been arrested and destroyed. The gradual extinction of slavery could then have been made certain by well-directed efforts of men so earnest and patriotic. Such a chance for relief was never again presented.

After Garrison began to issue his vituperative fulminations in Lundy's paper, the South became imbittered against all antislavery men, however moderate. Then in a few years the slave-holders, under the guidance of Calhoun, were united for the purpose of not only protecting their legal rights, but of extending slavery until it should become the controlling political power of the country. This union of the slave-holders accomplished in a few years the political supremacy of slavery, and subjected to its undisputed control every department of the National Government.

In this way Garrison, discarding the mild and quiet methods of Lundy, began to denounce the slave-holders as pirates, thieves, and robbers. He was thereupon prosecuted, fined, and imprisoned. After he had lain in jail forty-nine days, Arthur Tappan, of New York City, sent the money which secured his liberation. But he had already destroyed poor Lundy. He had not only captivated but captured him. He had instilled into the mind

of the just and peaceful Quaker a part of his own virulence and love of anarchy.

So, in 1837, John Quincy Adams says: "Lundy and the Abolitionists generally are constantly urging me to indiscreet movements, which would ruin me and weaken and not strengthen their cause."

From the day of Garrison's connection with Lundy the latter's success in the antislavery cause began to decline, and after a few years his subscribers had all left him, and all the antislavery societies which he had formed in the slave States had been disbanded. He then went to Philadelphia and started another paper, but he failed to prosper. Misfortune followed misfortune, until in a few years, overwhelmed by poverty and disappointment, and exhausted by his ardent but ineffectual work for freedom, he departed from life.*

It has been unwisely said that Lundy served to keep the antislavery torch burning, until Garrison could take it from his hand and bear it onward. Before Lundy's death, his torch of antislavery had been extinguished, and was never borne by Garrison, its extinguisher, or any one, thereafter. The latter-day fanatics had no wish for torches to light their path; they wanted only the missiles and weapons of anarchy. Such methods cannot with any reason be called a continuation of Lundy's work. His work was destroyed, not continued.

* Earle's "Life of Benjamin Lundy." Greeley's "Great American Conflict."

After his liberation from prison, Garrison wandered about for several months, smarting under the indignities and penalties which his disregard of law had brought upon him. From that time he vowed vengeance against slave-holders, and was planning methods to make his vengeance keenly felt. At length he reached Boston, and started the *Liberator*—the arsenal in which he was to manufacture and store his vengeful missiles. In its first number he employed the same vituperative and mandatory style which for thirty years characterized that disloyal and vindictive sheet. He said:

"A greater revolution in public sentiment is to be effected in the free States, particularly in New England, than at the South. . . . Let Southern oppressors tremble! Let their Northern apologists tremble! . . . On this subject I do not wish to speak or write with moderation."

Samuel Eliot, in his "History of the United States," page 369, gives an accurate account of the early antislavery movement, and its obstruction by Garrison, as follows:

"In the history of the movement against slavery in the United States, two periods are easily observed. The first is from the beginning of the Government to 1831, during which antislavery meant opposition to an evil from which all parts of the country were suffering, and to the relief of which all must contribute. Slavery was to be removed gradually, and with compensation to the owners of slaves who might be emancipated. As a general rule, societies were the instruments to be employed in bringing about the desired results, the subject being too delicate or too vast, or both, for individual action. All this changes in the second period, from 1831 forward. Slavery is the sin for which those only who tolerate it are to pay the penalty; it is to be wiped

out at once, and without compensating those who have upheld it; and as its abolition is to be effected only at great risks and in defiance of powerful traditions, it must be the work of individuals, who, though combined in associations, are mostly engaged in individual action. It was a natural consequence of this contrast that while the South co-operated in antislavery movements before 1831 it set itself against them afterwards. Of 144 antislavery societies in 1826, 106 were Southern. Of the comparatively few ten years later, all were Northern. . . . 'The grand rallying-point,' according to Garrison and his associates, was the repeal of the Union. Other repeals were proposed; that of the pulpit, which had not thundered as it ought against slavery; that of the churches, which had not forced their pulpits to thunder. These passionate demands threw back Abolitionism, instead of advancing it. Men willing to act against slavery were not willing to act against their country or their church, and instead of becoming Abolitionists they became anti-Abolitionists. Another party would have to be formed to take the lead, and this could not be done in a day."

To accomplish the grand results laid down in their programme, the Garrisonites proposed to make use of "moral influence only." The hypocrisy of this pretence is admirably shown in volume four of Schouler's History, page 216, as follows:

"They had deluged the South with incendiary pamphlets, whose tendency, whether they so meant it or not, was to excite the slaves to rise against their masters. This latter appeal to terrorism was the device of the American Antislavery Society, which set aside a large sum of money to circulate gratuitously their seditious writings where it was death to distribute them openly. Tracts and periodicals printed expressly for this purpose, with pictures even more inflammatory than the text they illustrated—the master with scourge in his hand and his victim at his feet—were struck off by the thousand, some printed on cheap muslin handkerchiefs, and deposited in the mail for the South. The best antislavery statesmen, such as Adams, have

believed that the purpose was incendiary; and though agitators denied that they intended more than to reach the conscience of Southern legislators, this denial was not accepted; denying that they sent such documents to the slaves, they tacitly confessed mailing them to free blacks. The grave charge, never explicitly denied by them, that this was an experiment to terrify the masters by kindling a new insurrection among the blacks, was made and reiterated by our whole people, and the Abolitionists were deterred from trying such methods again."

Had these incendiaries been successful in their attempts to incite a servile war, they would have inflicted a much greater wrong upon the slaves than upon their masters. They appear, however, to have desired to demonstrate with characteristic logic their love for the African by making him a murderer.

If their gusty fury had only possessed cyclonic power, they would have wrecked the Government, abolished the pulpit and the church, and shattered into fragments the civilization of this continent.

It has been wisely provided that infants are not Samsons.

Roosevelt, in his "Life of Benton," page 159, says:

"The antislavery outburst in the Northern States over the admission of Missouri took place a dozen years before there was an Abolition society in existence, and the influence of the professional Abolitionists upon the growth of the antislavery sentiment as often as not merely warped it and twisted it out of proper shape—as when they adopted disunion views, although it was self-evident that by no possibility could slavery be abolished unless the Union was preserved."

The natural hostility to slavery which had always characterized the North was aggravated from

time to time by some new aggression of the Slave Power. The increased antislavery zeal thus secured was invariably claimed by Garrison and his friends as the result of their own agitation. Nothing could be further from the truth. Sensible men of all parties and of all religious beliefs were unanimous in the expression that these agitators had much retarded the development and effectiveness of the practical antislavery sentiment of the country. There are numerous and illustrious examples of such opinions, some of which are here presented; first, extracts from a sermon preached in Hartford in 1839 by Rev. Dr. Horace Bushnell, as follows:

"I turn, on the other hand, to our antislavery brethren, and say, do not regard yourselves too hastily as the beginning of a movement for liberty, or assume too much consequence to yourselves in the organization you have raised up. Neither conclude too hastily that what you are doing is a real advantage. The destruction of slavery will be accomplished, either with you or without you; or, if you make it necessary, in spite of you. There is a law in the case above you and above us all. The river has been in motion for ages, with a deep, strong, broad-sweeping current. You may disturb the clearness of its waters, you may pump off some of it into by-trenches and ponds, but still it will flow on in its predestined course, in the power and undiverted majesty of Him who bids it flow. . . .

"Instead of beginning in the proper way, your first movement here at the North was a rank onset and explosion. . . .

"The first sin of this organization was a sin of ill-manners. They did not go to work like Christian gentlemen. They went to work much as if they were going to drive the masters as they do their negroes. The great convention which met at Philadelphia drew up a declaration of their sentiments, in which they visibly affected the style and tone of the Declaration of Independence. . . . And yet it is coupled with a sort of effect; I hardly know whether to call it sad or ludicrous when you figure

to yourselves a body of men gathered in solemn convention at Philadelphia, and declaring independence, as it were, for slavery! —an act exactly fitted to alienate every friend they had or could have had at the South, and shut his lips forever; an act by which they wilfully and boorishly cast off the whole South from them, and kindled against themselves a flame of madness so hot as to exclude all approach, and create an embargo against all their arguments. . . .

"There is no probability that we shall ever join with you. And do not think that it is mere ignorance which at present keeps us from doing it. I believe that I have watched your movement and known it as well as most of you have done yourselves; but never for a moment have I been impressed with any feeling of obligation except the obligation not to unite with your societies. I never could have done it without a violation of my conscience and better judgment. . . . New England still is, at bottom, thoroughly opposed to slavery. And though it may seem strange to you, I will affirm without scruple that liberty in every form, and not least in the abolition of slavery, is a popular doctrine. Our fathers and all our statesmen of the old type were Abolitionists. Could you ask a stronger evidence than that they abolished slavery themselves? . . .

"There is in New England a deep and settled opposition to slavery, and nothing is wanting but to let it forth. Your society is now the greatest obstacle to its manifestation. . . . But how is this? you inquire; have not we ourselves called out resolutions on this subject in the Legislatures of Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut? You are in danger, I reply, of taking more to yourselves in this matter than you ought. You know very well that these Legislatures do not regard you or your measures, as a society, with favor. They deprecate your course, they disclaim all fellowship with you in the very act of voting. When you understand this, you may readily guess that it is not your society which, all at once, has made them friends of liberty. They speak not with your voice, but with the ancient spirit of New England; they move not in your line, but in their own, with a hearty repugnance to your alliance. . . .

"And now I think I am right in saying that the ministry of New England, together with the better class of public men generally, are ready to take their stand practically and soberly for

the abolition of slavery. Our Legislatures, you perceive, are willing to vote opinions which look that way. But mark, while this is true, there is no disposition manifested to fall into your strain of action or to become identified with the odium unnecessarily attracted by your movement. They would feel, in fact, that an identification with your society would be only throwing themselves into the worst possible position for acting with effect. . . .

"If you wish to put a man of real weight quite out of the way, to hide him, or make his name a cipher as regards this question, you need only put him into an antislavery association. He will lie there sweltering under the heated mass of numbers, like the giant under Ætna, and by men as little felt or regarded."

Not less forcible than the above views of Dr. Bushnell are the following criticisms of Dr. William E. Channing. No one can accuse either of these loyal, patriotic, and eminent divines of prejudice or of undue severity.

"The Abolitionists have done wrong, I believe; nor is their wrong to be winked at, because done fanatically or with good intention; for how much mischief may be wrought by good design? They have fallen into the common error of enthusiasts, that of taking too narrow views, of feeling that no evil existed but that which they opposed, and as if no guilt could be compared with that of countenancing or upholding it. The tone of their newspapers, as far as I have seen them, has often been fierce, bitter, exasperating. . . . One of their errors has been the adoption of 'Immediate Emancipation' as their motto. To this they owe not a little of their unpopularity. . . . Another objection to their movement is that they have sought to accomplish their objects by a system of agitation; that is, by a system of affiliated societies, gathered and held together and extended by passionate eloquence. . . . The adoption of the common system of agitation by the Abolitionists has not been justified by success. From the beginning it created alarm in the considerate, and strengthened the sympathies of the free States with the slave-holder. It made converts of a few individuals, but alienated multitudes. Its in-

fluence at the South has been almost wholly evil. It has stirred up bitter passions and a fierce fanaticism which have shut every ear and every heart against its arguments and persuasions. These effects are more to be deplored, because the hope of freedom to the slave lies chiefly in the disposition of his master. The Abolitionist proposed, indeed, to convert the slave-holders; and for this end he approached them with vituperation and exhausted on them the vocabulary of reproach. And he has reaped as he sowed. . . . Thus, with good purposes, nothing seems to have been gained. Perhaps (though I am anxious to repel the thought) something has been lost to the cause of freedom and humanity. . . .

"There is a great dread in this part of the country that the union of the States may be dissolved by the conflict about slavery. To avert this evil every sacrifice should be made but that of honor, freedom, and principle. No one prizes the Union more than myself. Perhaps I may say that I am attached to it by no common love. Most men value the Union as a Means; to me it is an End. Most would preserve it for the prosperity of which it is the instrument; I love and would preserve it for its own sake."

One very great error in the methods of these Abolitionists was the constant effort to stimulate feeling upon the slavery question without suggesting any practical action. In all their annual, semi-annual, and quarterly conventions, as well as in their numerous antislavery bazaars, the most fiery, furious, and passionate of their orators pictured blood-hounds, auction-blocks, manacles, and whipping-posts. Tears and wailing were the result. The only action they proposed was utterly impossible: the destruction of the Government, the overthrow of the Constitution, the dissolution of the Union, and the abolition of the pulpit and the church. All this intensely stimulated feeling, cut

off from action, resulted in inability to act. That such would be the inevitable result, they might have learned from any sound work on mental and moral philosophy. But disregarding every admonition, whether of science or experience, they allowed their sentimental intoxication to develop into emotional insanity or chronic monomania. They could see but one sin in all the world, and that was slavery. This they would abolish immediately, with no care for ruinous results. Their "plausible rascality," without one glimmer of statesmanship, or one impulse of patriotism, was ever in harmony with disunion and anarchy. Their morbid fancy had devoured their strength.

> "And like the bat of Indian brakes,
> Her pinions fan the wound she makes;
> And soothing thus the dreamer's pains,
> She drinks the life-blood from his veins."

As a substitute for action, however, they passed resolutions. In this industry they excelled, by far, all other people whether secular or religious. There was a race of prehistoric men whom ethnologists call the "Mound-builders." The best descriptive term for the Garrison Abolitionists would be the "resolution-builders." They never came any nearer to the attainment of an object than to pass a resolution about it, and have it recorded in the *Liberator*, the birthplace and sepulchre of all their hopes, purposes, and aspirations.

When there were twenty thousand people in Kansas, Mr. Garrison said, "Among all the people

who have emigrated to that country there is scarcely one Abolitionist." Very true, and very fortunate that it was true. I knew of several young men who joined our colonies after having wasted all their energies in sighing and weeping for "the poor slave;" but they all returned before reaching the Territory. After a few months' experience in raising colonies I advised all these tearful specimens to stay at home. The best and most trustworthy emigrants in the cause of free Kansas were of the old Whig and Democratic parties. They hated slavery as much as any one, but they had not exhausted their strength in deploring the "great sin of slavery." They knew it was a great curse to the country, and were desirous of ending it, if it could be done according to law and without the loss of the Union. They used but few words, but they meant all they said. They went to Kansas to make a free State, and they made it.

But how the Abolitionists of the Garrison school denounced them, when at the convention at Big Springs in 1855 they voted unanimously that when Kansas should become a State there should be no negroes in it, either slave or free! At the next free-State convention, held in Lawrence, they voted the same way. Again at Topeka they repeated what they had twice affirmed. Of course no Abolitionist could have done this, neither could any Liberty party man; hardly any Free-soiler. But it was policy at that time to vote as they did. There were many people from the South there. They were poor, and had never owned slaves; but

their prejudice against free negroes was much greater than against slavery. If there were to be no free negroes in Kansas, they were free-State men; if there were to be free negroes there, they were slave-State men. By this policy of our discreet pioneers from the North—members of the Whig and Democratic parties—more than half of the settlers in Kansas from the slave States became free-State men, and in unison with our own emigrants from the free States.

In my sixty thousand miles of travel in raising Kansas colonies I was never rebuked for my methods and arguments but once, and that opposition occurred in Montpelier, Vermont. I had addressed a very large audience in the largest hall in the place for two hours. I had dwelt upon the bad economy of slavery, and recommended to such in the meeting as might go to Kansas to make friends of the poor whites who came there from the South, and to show them, from the United States census, how much more their quarter sections would be worth in a free State than they would be in a slave State; also what a difference there would be in educational advantages, in the mechanic arts, and in all that civilized man esteems valuable. You, I said, like our colonists now there, are to be the missionaries of free labor, and are to build up the noblest of all our free States in the very centre of the republic.

I had just concluded when a venerable man of seventy years or more arose in the audience, and said:

"I have listened with deep humiliation—yes, I may say with extreme mortification, to the arguments of Mr. Thayer, in favor of making Kansas a free State. The methods which he uses and which he urges his emigrants to adopt are exceedingly repulsive to me. He has told us how he makes his emigrants missionaries of freedom. I consider them missionaries of mammon. They are to show the Southerners that it will pay better to establish freedom in Kansas. I protest against lowering our glorious standard of Liberty to such base expedients. I would a thousand times prefer that Kansas should be a slave State rather than be a free State for any other reason than this, that slavery is a sin against God."

The unhappy man seemed to have no supporters in the meeting, for no one applauded and many hissed. After a few minutes they called for me. I simply said that I should enter into no controversy with the venerable gentleman who had spoken, since it would be a very unfair encounter, as the audience seemed to favor me and oppose him. But I still adhered to my methods, and would prefer to see Kansas a free State for the worst reasons, rather than a slave State for the best reasons.

The professed Garrisonites were not the only writers and speakers who strove to intensify feeling against slavery, without even suggesting any practical action. All such writers and speakers did great harm. A boy or girl who weeps over the misery described in a dime novel is very much weakened for all really charitable work. Hence hundreds of writers, both of prose and poetry, weakened the effective antislavery work of the country, and destroyed to a great extent vigorous manhood by stimulating feelings which had noth-

ing to do but to corrode and destroy their own tenements. The trustworthy and effective men in the great pivotal contest against slavery upon the prairies of Kansas were those who had not worn themselves out in direful apprehensions or wasted their strength in exhausting pity. They never had said, "Slavery has always had its own way, and always will have it." They believed that God had made freedom stronger than slavery, and that now, since politicians had nothing more to do with this matter, it was wise for the people to make an honest and exhaustive test of the comparative strength of these two forces in Kansas. Before the organized movement of such men, slavery was like a cripple assailed by Briareus with his hundred arms.

It was my custom in all my addresses to dwell upon the inherent and irresistible power of free labor, and to predict its speedy triumph. This confidence begat enthusiasm, and the people responded in large and eager audiences. They were much more interested in the physical advantages of freedom than in the moral deformity of slavery.

From what has already been said, the thoughtful reader will readily understand how these disunionists were prepared by their training to despise all practical men and all feasible measures. It was one of their foibles to assume that they had "pre-empted" the slavery question, and that nobody else had any business with it. Hence, when the Emigrant Aid Company was organized and put into successful operation, they tried by speeches and writing, by ridicule and argument, to make its work abortive.

It was great good-fortune, however, for the cause of freedom in Kansas that this class of men opposed it. Had they favored it, all the prospects of its success would have been destroyed at the outset. Very few people could have been induced to work with them under any circumstances. Had they advocated slavery for as many years as they advocated disunion, and with the same blind intensity and malignity, they might have crippled even that robust institution. From their very natures they could not be coworkers with the people in any cause. They were malignant spirits, at war with everybody.

They are well described by Schouler, in his last work, as follows:

"They were not actors in affairs, but agitators, critics, come-outers, coiners of cutting epithets, who scourged men in public station with as little mercy as ever the slave-driver did his victim, less pleased that their work was being done than displeased because it was not done faster. Their political blunders widened the breach between the North and the South, and their constant instigation was to throttle that law which was the breath of our being—to trample down the Union, rather than convert, constrain, or conquer slavery behind the shield of the Constitution. This was because of their fanaticism. Not one leader of this school ever took a responsible part in affairs, or co-operated in lawful and practical measures for promoting the reform they caressed in their preaching."

CHAPTER VII.

THE ABOLITIONISTS AND THE PLAN OF FREEDOM.

For several years past it has been the practice of many thoughtless and sentimental speakers and writers to extol Garrison and Phillips for work which they had no hand in doing. In paroxysms of grotesque eulogy rivalling the wildest utterances of the ancient pythoness at Delphi, these Will-o'-the-wisp luminaries dazzle, confound, and mislead the people, their own heated imaginations supplying fancies instead of facts.

The repeated confessions of these disunionists that they had achieved no success is reinforced by the most authoritative testimony of eminent statesmen and journalists. The Kansas contest was caused by the new methods of migration, under the guiding and protecting power of a strong company adapted to this special work. This company was in favor of law and the Union. For that reason it was naturally hated by the disunionists, but especially because it had determined to overthrow slavery in its own way and by its own methods, without even asking their advice or co-operation.

While the Emigrant Aid Company was by its operations creating a well-founded alarm in the Southern States, and was receiving the commenda-

tion and gratitude of every true lover of freedom for the practical results it had accomplished, let us see how it was regarded by that peculiar clique. At the time of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, these men had been absolutely silent; and in the period of gloom and despair at the North that followed that iniquity, they had no words either of counsel, of encouragement, or of commiseration to offer. No sooner, however, was a feasible plan of retrieving the disaster set forth, than Mr. Garrison and his associates opened their batteries of vituperation upon it and its authors, as they had always assailed every feasible measure, and everybody who proposed to do something for the cause of freedom; and as they continued to assail everybody and everything except disunion, until, in spite of them and without their aid, the great object was achieved. Then they and their admirers turned about and coolly said, "We did all this ourselves!" The present generation has, in consequence of the persistent clack and endless scribbling of that class, come to believe that Mr. Garrison was the Alpha and Omega of the antislavery struggle, and that he and his small party of followers were the leaders and directors of the great movement that brought about the overthrow of slavery. These men and women have never exhibited any diffidence or modesty in sounding their own praises. They formed a mutual admiration society possessed by an unusual malignity towards those who did not belong to it; yet, not content with fighting the outside world, they fre-

quently snarled and quarrelled among themselves, and attempted to destroy each other. The persecution they endured was not on account of the antislavery principles they maintained. It was their abusive and insulting manner, and particularly their offensive obtrusion of the unpopular and unpatriotic doctrines of secession and disunion upon every occasion, that principally excited the passions of the mob.

In fact, the little company of Abolitionists had come to be despised at the North, and they were neglected and shunned by the better element for the reasons above given. Almost invariably, in presenting my plan of emigration, the question would come, Has Garrison anything to do with this? Is there any taint of Abolitionism in it? I had to assure my hearers that it was entirely free from that objectionable element. However, as Mr. Garrison and his friends have been elevated into such a prominent position, and as an exaggerated and distorted idea of their services largely prevails, some even believing that they aided in the saving of Kansas, it is proper for me to show here in what manner they viewed an undertaking which had for its object the extermination of slavery by peaceful, lawful, and practical methods, and how they treated those who honestly and earnestly gave to it their support. The following extracts and quotations will show their kind of wisdom and power of prophecy:

In the Massachusetts A. A. S. Convention (May, 1854), Henry C. Wright offered the following resolution, which was passed:

"That should the Government succeed in its present plan to abolish the Missouri Compromise, and to throw open all the vast public domain to slavery and the slave-trade, we consider that the time has fully come for the people to *practically* assert the right of revolution."

Here, in 1854, before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, we have a very striking specimen of what John Quincy Adams called "the plausible rascality of Garrison and the Non-resistant Abolitionists." Years before, they were using what they called "moral suasion," to secure the dissolution of the Union. They had said that their appeals were to the "moral sense" of the free States. Instead of approval, our people, almost without exception, gave to such appeals extreme opposition and bitter denunciation. Now, however, since these appeals had proved a complete failure, the disunionists were ready to proclaim open war against the Government.

Between these two methods there was little room for choice. Either would have secured the permanent triumph of the Slave Power, and the utter humiliation and subserviency of the North for an indefinite period. We are well able to judge, since the war, whether the General Government had power to coerce a State and maintain its own authority. Both of these proposed methods illustrate the statesmanship of the disunionists, who never saw any public question in its true light, and who never advocated any course of action which would not have utterly wrecked all the interests of freedom.

In defiance, however, of the "revolution" threat-

ened by a "handful of despised Abolitionists," consisting, as Samuel Bowles said, of "indiscreet men and unsexed women," the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, having passed both House and Senate, was signed by the President, and became a law on the 30th of May, 1854. The charter of the Emigrant Aid Company, which contained the germ of the Emancipation Proclamation, had been granted by the Massachusetts Legislature, and signed by the Governor more than a month earlier.

Without waiting for this legislative action I had begun the work of raising the first Kansas colony as early as the 1st of April; but on account of the general gloom and despondency, had made but little progress. Though that colony was a very small one, numbering only twenty-nine, it required more work to secure it than was expended on any half-dozen subsequent Kansas companies. My long and earnest efforts in New York and Massachusetts were rewarded with this apparently insignificant result. But however feeble in appearance was this beginning, it was the first organized physical resistance to the power of slavery that this country had ever seen. It was the beginning of the end of that combination which had ruled us with a rod of iron for more than a third of a century.

The obstacles in the way of the success of this "new science of emigration" were many and great. First: there was the apathy, gloom, and despair consequent upon the invariable victory of slavery and defeat of freedom in our national legislative halls for at least thirty-five years.

Then again it was argued that we would have no chance of success in the contest of emigration proposed, since we were so far from the field of action, while the slave-holders were in great numbers on the very border of Kansas.

In addition to these difficulties, which seemed to many insurmountable, there was the terrible fact that all the departments of the Government were in the hands of our enemies. This was indeed a great calamity, and made our work difficult and hazardous. It was a source of great doubt and perplexity among those who were ardently devoted to the free-State cause, and was often urged as an unanswerable argument against the possibility of its ultimate triumph.

It was expected that the President would appoint pro-slavery officers for both Territories, and that all the power of the Government would be used, either openly or secretly, to injure the free-State cause, and to sustain slavery.

The Northern people had not yet understood how much mightier they themselves were than Presidents, Congresses, and Cabinets. This great fact they were rapidly learning, and soon became quite indifferent about what the powers at Washington might do, or fail to do.

Such were the arguments of loyal and patriotic citizens, who were desirous of our success, and who were later among the most active supporters of the Emigrant Aid Company. When the great work of inspiring faith and hope in hearts where only gloom and despair had dwelt had once reached these ob-

jectors, they joined in the grand crusade, and either went to Kansas themselves or stimulated and aided others to go.

But there was another class, professing intense hostility to slavery, who exerted all their power to prevent our success: I mean the Garrison disunionists, whose "eternal whine" had afflicted the country for a quarter of a century, and by utterly disgusting all practical patriots, and all political parties, had retarded antislavery work, and to a great extent suppressed all practical antislavery sentiment. These desired that Kansas should be a slave State; and said that if it could be made a free State (which they claimed was impossible) "the result would be a great injury to true antislavery, because it would quiet the Northern conscience with an apparent triumph."

Here are two samples of this "eternal whine."

Annual statement adopted at the May convention of the A. A. S., Massachusetts, 1856:

"Yet we cannot conceal it from ourselves that the too probable result will be, if Kansas be secured to freedom, that the vile American spirit of *compromise* will take possession of its counsels, control its internal affairs, and govern its intercourse with the neighboring slave States; while, as a still more lamentable consequence, apathy will settle upon the whole Northern mind, satisfied with their seeming victory, but the end of which will be only to invite fresh insults and aggressions from the Southern despotism. No! there is no safety as there is no honor and no right in our union with men-stealers. No advantage gained while in that fatal fellowship can be of any value."

The following, in the same strain as the above, is an extract from a sermon of Rev. T. W. Higgin-

son, preached in Worcester, in June, 1854, and recorded in the *Liberator* of June 16th:

"Here, for instance, is the Nebraska Emigration Society: it is, indeed, a noble enterprise, and I am proud that it owes its origin to a Worcester man; but where is the good of emigrating to Nebraska, if Nebraska is to be only a transplanted Massachusetts, and the original Massachusetts has been tried and found wanting? Will the stream rise higher than its source? Settle your Nebraska ten years, and you will have your New England harvest of corn and grain more luxuriant in that virgin soil. Ah! but will not the other Massachusetts crop come also, of political demagogues and wire-pullers, and a sectarian religion, which will insure the passage of the greatest hypocrite to heaven, if he will join the right church before he goes? And give the emigrants twenty years more of prosperity, and then ask them, if you dare, to break the law, and disturb order, and risk life, merely to save their State from the shame that has just blighted Massachusetts."

In reply to these sentimental puerilities let us first examine the argument of the "statement," and then that of the sermon. The above "statement" was adopted in 1856, after it had become apparent to all intelligent observers that the contest in Kansas was to be decided in favor of freedom, if the same agency which had directed the free-State cause up to that time should continue to act. The Garrisonites in the above "statement" make two points against the free State:

1st. It will be a compromising State.

Of course this means, as they had often said, that such a State was worse than a slave State. If Kansas had been left to the tender mercies of the border ruffians, as it would have been without the action of the Emigrant Aid Company, there would have

been (so they believed) an important accession to the disunionists of the North—a number of new subscribers for the *Liberator*, more patrons of all the antislavery bazaars, increased attendance upon the annual, semi-annual, and quarterly disunion conventions; altogether constituting a pledge of progressive anarchy and of ultimate disunion. To make Kansas a free State was the ruin of all these hopes and aspirations.

2d. "Apathy will settle upon the whole Northern mind, satisfied with their seeming victory."

In plain English they meant this: "If Kansas should be made a free State everybody will say that we, the disunionists, are false prophets, for we have said a thousand times that this result could not be attained. People will then desert our standard instead of flocking to sustain it. More than ever the North will adhere to the Union; for her political power will be assured for all coming time. To this consummation we can never assent. No union with man-stealers! No fellowship with them can be of any value." This was the *a priori* argument and prophecy. Has the result vindicated their judgment and foresight? Just as much as these qualities were vindicated by anything they ever said or did in their entire history. No people ever had more practice in prophesying than they; but practice brought neither perfection nor proficiency.

This sermon of Rev. T. W. Higginson was published in the *Liberator* thirty-one days before our first colony left Boston for Kansas. It must be

plain to the intelligent reader that its purpose was to prevent our organized emigration to that Territory. "Where is the good," says the reverend preacher, "of emigrating to Nebraska if Nebraska is to be a transplanted Massachusetts, and the original Massachusetts has been tried and found wanting?" Was this encouraging talk to the young men who were at that very time proposing to join the colony then forming?

The argument of the reverend gentleman is this: The best it is possible for you to do is to make another State which will be as bad as Massachusetts is, and therefore you had better do nothing at all. "The stream cannot rise higher than its source;" therefore let Kansas alone. Should you succeed in making her free, you will find that in thirty years her people will be patriotic and law-abiding in politics, and sectarian in religion. To an anarchist and come-outer these were insuperable reasons why Kansas should be left to the Blue Lodges of Missouri.

If made a slave State, the fact might help to fire the Northern heart against the Union and make it more easy for disunionists to triumph. These are fair and just inferences, made without prejudice, and warranted by the argument of the sermon and the associations of the preacher.

In the *Liberator* of February 16, 1855, is a letter from its correspondent, C. Stearns, dated Lawrence, Kansas, January 20, 1855, in which we find this:

"It is true we denounce the Emigrant Aid Company, because we believe it to be a great hinderance to the cause of freedom, and

a mighty curse to the Territory; but we are the only ones who have taken a decided ground on the antislavery question. I have never heard of the Lawrence Association ever passing any antislavery resolutions.

"Another point of importance is, that this association, with Robinson at its head, advocates brute force in opposing the Missourians. Said Mr. R. to the marshal, in reference to some Missourians arrested for threatening the Yankees, 'If they fire, do you make them bite the dust, and I will find coffins.'"

In a letter one month later, published in the *Liberator* of the 16th of March, 1855, the same correspondent says:

"Do not advise people to emigrate here in companies. Let them come very few at a time. This sending large companies is a very foolish business for many reasons."

In the above extracts, the hatred of the Emigrant Aid Company is too apparent to need elucidation. The writer assails the very methods of the company which gave us success. He objects to our colonies! What could individual free-State men have accomplished in Kansas?

The hostile purpose of the following editorial in the *Liberator* of April 13, 1855, is very apparent.

"Read the articles we have grouped together on our first page, illustrative of the demoniacal pro-slavery spirit which rages and bears down all opposition in Kansas and Missouri. . . . Beyond a doubt the fate of Kansas is sealed. 'No union with slaveholders.'"

At the date of the above quotation our company had sent several flourishing colonies to Kansas, and it began to be evident that by faithfully adhering to our "plan of freedom" the entire North

would soon be united in our support, insuring our success, and making Kansas free. Now, if ever, intimidation must be tried to frighten our colonists and check the progress of our work. So the *Liberator* devotes an entire page to the grouping of all the cock-and-bull stories that could be gleaned from every quarter. Then, most discouraging of all, Mr. Garrison informs us, "Beyond a doubt the fate of Kansas is sealed." If he could make our emigrants believe that, it would be the end of emigration. But people had begun to see the drift of the disunion talk, and to understand that the owner of the *Liberator* desired that Kansas should be a slave State, to give aid and comfort to his pet scheme of disunion. The concluding refrain proves this. "No union with slave-holders!"

In another paper Mr. Garrison says, in substance: Kansas cannot be made a free State, and even if it should be, such a result would be a great injury to the antislavery cause, for the reason that it would quiet the Northern conscience. The following is from the *Liberator* (editorial) of June 1, 1855:

"Will Kansas be a free State? We answer No. Not while the existing Union stands. Its fate is settled. We shall briefly state some of the reasons which force us to this sad conclusion.

"1. The South is united in the determination to make Kansas a slave State—ultimately, by division, half a dozen slave States, if necessary. She has never yet been foiled in her purposes thus concentrated and expressed, and she has too much at stake to allow free speech, a free press, and free labor, to hold the mastery in that Territory.

"2. Eastern emigration will avail nothing to keep slavery out of Kansas. We have never had any faith in it as a breakwater

against the inundation of the dark waters of oppression. Hardly an Abolitionist can be found among all who have emigrated to that country. Undoubtedly the mass of emigrants are in favor of making Kansas a free State, as a matter of sound policy, and would do so if they were not under the dominion of Missouri ruffianism, or if they could rely upon the sympathy of the General Government in this terrible crisis, but they have not gone to Kansas to be martyrs in the cause of the enslaved negro, nor to sacrifice their chances for a homestead upon the altar of principle, but to find a comfortable home for themselves and their children. Before they emigrated they gave little or no countenance to the antislavery cause at home; they partook of the general hostility or indifference to the labors of radical Abolitionism; at least they could only dream of making 'freedom national and slavery sectional after the manner of the fathers;' and they were poisoned more or less with the virus of colorphobia. If they had no pluck here, what could be rationally expected of them in the immediate presence of the demoniacal spirit of slavery? They represent the average sentiment of the North on this subject—nothing more—and that is still subservient to the will of the South.

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"3. The omnipotent power of the General Government will co-operate with the vandals of Missouri to crush out what little antislavery sentiment may exist in Kansas, and to sustain their lawless proceedings in that Territory. This will prove decisive in the struggle.

"4. On the subject of slavery there is no principle in the Kansas papers ostensibly desirous of making it a free State. Here, for instance, is the *Herald of Freedom*, of May 12th, published in Lawrence, which claims to be, and we believe is, the most outspoken journal in Kansas in regard to the rights of *bona fide* settlers. What does its editor say? Listen! 'While publishing a paper in Kansas, we feel that it is not our province to discuss the subject of freedom or slavery in the States.' Is not this the most heartless inhumanity, the most arrant, moral cowardice, the clearest demonstration of unsoundness of mind?

"These are some of the reasons why we believe Kansas will inevitably be a slave State."

The thoughtful reader will not need any commentary to point out the utter folly and incoherency of the above editorial of Mr. Garrison. One or two points, however, deserve special attention. "Hardly an Abolitionist can be found among all who have emigrated to that country. . . . They represent the average sentiment of the North."

At this time there were about twenty thousand people in Kansas. Then, according to the estimate of Mr. Garrison, there was hardly one Abolitionist in twenty thousand Northern people. Here is a truthful, though evidently unconscious admission that his twenty-five years of vituperation, blasphemy, and anarchy, with all its work and worry, had been futile and useless.

The other point is the disparaging reference to the *Herald of Freedom*.

G. W. Brown, from Pennsylvania, established that paper in Lawrence in 1854, and maintained it as the organ of the free-State cause during the Kansas contest. It was a most hopeful and helpful agency in the free-State interest. In all my journeys to form Kansas Leagues, to organize colonies, to solicit money for our work, or to combine the Northern people of all political parties in the determination to make Kansas free, I did not fail to carry large packages of these papers. They were of vast service to our cause. The *Herald of Freedom* was sent by the Kansas settlers into every county and into almost every town of the Northern States. It was ever true to the principle and purpose of making Kansas a free State. Mr. Garrison and his

friends complained because the editor refused to enter into controversy upon the general subject of slavery in the States, and would not fill his columns with "resolutions," and complaints about blood-hounds, manacles, and auction-blocks. The paper was ably conducted, and was of inestimable value to the cause in furnishing and disseminating information about the Territory, much of which was given by the actual settlers. The Emigrant Aid Company advanced two thousand dollars to aid Dr. Brown in establishing this journal, which sum he repaid. He knew "Old John Brown" intimately while he was in Kansas, and his reminiscences of that worthy, published a few years since, created something of a stampede among the admirers of the hero of Harper's Ferry. Dr. Brown is now living in Rockford, Illinois, devoting much of his time to literary work. He is entitled to the gratitude of every lover of freedom for his faithful, self-sacrificing, and effective work in Kansas.

In the *Liberator* of July 13, 1855, there is the following record:

"Thomas Wentworth Higginson was the next speaker. His declaration of his belief in the certainty of the dissolution of these States, and of his own readiness for that event, met with the general and evidently carefully considered assent of the audience."

This is the same Rev. Mr. Higginson from whose sermon we have already quoted.

In perfect accord with the generally obstructive efforts of the Garrisonites in the Kansas conflict and crusade are the following editorial and an ex-

tract from the speech of Wendell Phillips, to be found in the *Liberator* of September 28th, and August 10th, 1855:

"Talk about stopping the progress of slavery and of saving Nebraska and Kansas! Why, the fate of Nebraska and Kansas was sealed the first hour Stephen Arnold Douglas consented to play his perfidious part.

"Why is Kansas a failure as a free State? I will tell you. You sent out there some thousand or two thousand men—for what? To make a living; to cultivate a hundred and sixty acres; to build houses; to send for their wives and children; to raise wheat; to make money; to build saw-mills; to plant towns. You meant to take possession of the country, as the Yankee race always takes possession of a country, by industry, by civilization, by roads, by houses, by mills, by churches; but it will take a long time—*it takes two centuries to do it.*

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"The moment you throw the struggle with slavery into the half-barbarous West, where things are decided by the revolver and bowie-knife, slavery triumphs. . . .

"What do I care for a squabble around the ballot-box in Kansas?"

These miserable prophetic efforts were intended to check and ruin the work of the Emigrant Aid Company. On every occasion the Abolitionists magnified its dangers and difficulties, so that by destroying all faith in the result sought, the work itself might soon be suspended. It was far too humiliating to be endured, that a new agency should enter the antislavery field and achieve success even in its infancy. Something must be done to retain in their own hands the great slavery question. To this they had given undivided attention for more than twenty-five years, and for that

reason alone had assumed to be its only authorized and infallible champions. So a church rat, having lived in a cathedral a dozen years, nibbling the crumbs of sacramental bread, might claim to know more theology than the recently appointed bishop.

As we have just seen, Mr. Phillips said, with characteristic scorn, "What do I care for a squabble around the ballot-box in Kansas?" Fortunately there was such a "squabble." It has been proved that no such "squabble" would have been but for the work of the Emigrant Aid Company. All would have been peace, but the peace of freedom's death and of slavery's triumph. The people of the North *did* care about this conflict, for they saw in it the power commissioned to determine the fate of this nation. From this contest it became evident that there could never be another slave State in this Union.

Patriots were glad that this trial had come, while anarchists and disunionists were sad and disheartened. This conflict, which, Charles Sumner said, "surpassed far in moral grandeur the whole war of the Revolution," saved Kansas and the country. Is it, then, a fit subject for the ridicule of Garrisonites? That American is little to be envied who can speak lightly of the decisive contest in Kansas between the two antagonistic civilizations of this continent. Either he does not love his country, or is incapable of understanding her history. In this contest was involved the welfare of the human race more than it had ever been in any other. The bat-

tles of Marathon and Leuctra were insignificant in results when compared with it. So were those of Hastings, Bannockburn, Naseby, and a hundred others most celebrated in history. Among the children of this "squabble" are Sumter, Bull Run, and the Emancipation Proclamation. Of the same mother came also Antietam, Gettysburg, and Appomattox. The time may come when Bunker Hill and Yorktown will take a lower place in history. These made independent three millions of British subjects. That made four millions of slaves into freemen, and raised to manhood a still larger number of white men whose condition had been more pitiable than that of the slaves. The former gave us a republic without republicanism, which denied our Declaration of Independence by withholding equal rights. The latter gave us a true republic, with equal rights for all.

But there is another view to be taken of the Kansas fight. Like mercy, it was "twice blessed." It blessed both parties to the conflict; and, wonderful to relate, the vanquished were a hundred times more blessed in their defeat than were the victors in their triumph. In the North slavery was an appalling shadow, a dark and threatening cloud. In the South it was the blackness of darkness, without one gleam of light. In the North it was only a hinderance to prosperity. In the South it was an insurmountable obstruction to all enterprise and a dead-stop to all progress. So both sections were the gainers by its defeat and extinction, but the South by far the greater. Look at her now! In

the very infancy of her regeneration she has become in iron manufacture the successful rival of Pennsylvania, and, in certain cotton manufactures, of the whole North. Capital is now flowing Southward more freely and more copiously than in any other direction. As this stream of incoming wealth progresses, and capital is also accumulated from her profitable investments already made, she will receive a great and ever-increasing accession to her population by the immigration of white men skilled in the mechanic arts. Her charming climate, her inexhaustible mines of coal and iron in close proximity to the needed lime-rock, her cotton, all ready for manufacture in her own hands—these are the bases of such a future growth and prosperity as can nowhere else be found. The race problem, about which some good people are fretting, will take care of itself, if the South shall now devote her energies to the development of her vast treasures, and enter into a brisk and healthy competition in her specialties with all parts of the world. In all the heavy manufactures of iron and steel, in the making of cotton cloths, and in many other mechanical enterprises not yet developed, she can take and hold the markets of this continent and eventually many others. No country to-day has such assuring prospects, and none promises to its inhabitants such ample returns for capital and labor invested.

The Southern States, as manufacturing centres, have a great advantage over Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. The net profits to these

States of their manufactories are greatly reduced by the cost of flour, corn, and meat brought from the West, and of cotton, wool, iron, and coal from other quarters. The South has all these important materials in abundance, so that within her own limits she has the means of feeding and clothing a population many times larger than she now has, while the products of her mines and her cotton furnish a basis for exports in manufactured goods and in raw materials such as no other country has. The laboring man can there support himself and his family for three-quarters of the sum required for that purpose in New England. These are but a few of the facts which give hope and encouragement to the new South.

Her present duty is to push forward with the greatest possible vigor her legitimate business pursuits, and to waste no time over the "race problem;" to attain, as speedily as she may, to the height of her possible destiny in wealth, in population, in education, and power. Her death has become life through her disappointment in Kansas. Her resurrection has now come, and the bounding pulses of her new life are thrilling all her veins. With energy, persistency, and fidelity in using her great advantages, she will soon become the wealthiest and most populous part of the Union. This result will be the proper settlement of the race question.

We now return to the continued diatribes of the disunionists. At a meeting of the American Anti-slavery Society in Providence, Rhode Island, Mr.

Garrison, as reported in the *Liberator* of the 2d of May, 1856, said:

"While the Union continues, the slave power will have everything its own way, in the last resort.

"'But (they say) we are going to have a glorious victory in Kansas.'

"It is all delusion to suppose that Kansas is safe for freedom. We are just too late! We have been betrayed by the General Government itself, which is now on the side of 'border ruffianism!' Slavery is certain to go into Kansas, nay, slaves are now carried there daily, and offered for sale with impunity. Even the free-State men have voted to let slavery continue in the Territory till the 4th of July next, and that no colored man shall be allowed to set his foot upon the soil of Kansas; thus trampling under foot the Constitution of the United States."

Here we have another example of the "eternal whine." "The slave power will have everything its own way." Did this sad prophecy prove true?

It had now become apparent that the cause of freedom was likely to triumph in Kansas. Even the disunionists in their hostile and imbittered hearts began to believe it. Observe that while up to this time they have always said *you* when speaking of the supporters of the Emigrant Aid movement, they now say *we*. "*We* are just too late." What had the disunionists, represented by the word "*we*," ever done for Kansas, except to oppose with all their power the only agency that could secure the freedom of that State? It is now a little late for the presumptuous claim that "we" are champions in the grand crusade of freedom. Whenever there was any chance for practical action against slavery there was a great lion in the path

of the Abolitionists. They called him "PRINCIPLE." The *Liberator* of May 16, 1856, contains a speech of Samuel May, Jr., in the N. Y. A. A. S. Convention, in which he said that he thought both duty and a sound and just expediency utterly forbade their identifying themselves, for an instant, with the mere *non*-extension-of-slavery movement. Especially would he protest against their identifying themselves, as a society, with the Kansas free-State movement, so long as it stood upon its present low and compromising level. "We cannot join in the present movement for Kansas because *it is false in principle.* That is a sufficient reason why we should take no part in it," said he.

"False in principle!" These Abolitionists regarded all action against slavery as "false in principle" if it did not contemplate the destruction of the churches and the overthrow of the Government. To such an extent were they dominated by "principle" that they would not give one dime for the purchase and liberation of all the slaves in the country. This method, they had often said, would be trafficking in human beings. But they had no objection to John Brown's way of murder and robbery, under the pretence of extending freedom. They could not be expected to favor the law-abiding Emigrant Aid Company, or to restrain their admiration and eulogy of John Brown, for disregarding all law and the rights of all men, who differed with him in opinion, to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The following is from a speech of Wendell

Phillips, printed in the *Liberator* of July 11, 1856:

"Now I have great hopes. I think Fremont will be defeated. I think there is great chance that Buchanan will be elected. I have no hope for Kansas. How can I have? Where are the hundred men who went from Chicago? Why, they went through Missouri, and laid down their arms at the feet of a mob! Fifty men from the city of Worcester met the same fate. A thousand dollars from the town of Concord alone gone into the treasury of the Missouri mob! . . . Fifty per cent. of the muskets bought in New England are to-day in the hands of Missourians."

Here Mr. Phillips plays a jubilee strain upon three strings of his fiddle. "Fremont defeated," "Buchanan elected," "Kansas lost." The country did not join in this untimely and disloyal exultation. With greater energy than ever, and fiercer determination, the North was equal to the exigency of the time. The Missouri River had been closed to our emigrants, Lawrence had been sacked by border ruffians, United States troops held as prisoners many of the free-State leaders. This was the time for Garrison and Phillips to sing hallelujahs!

The following is from the diary of Amos A. Lawrence (Life by his son, page 105):

"*Nov. 5th*, 1856.—Went with Governor Robinson and Senator Henry Wilson to a private meeting of about twenty Kansas men to decide what shall be done if Buchanan is elected. Rev. Mr. Higginson advocated resistance to the Government. Mr. Wilson spoke against that doctrine very decidedly; so did I."

The Garrison Abolitionists having failed to destroy, or even to impede, the work of the Emigrant Aid Company in colonizing Kansas, and the bor-

der ruffians also having achieved no success in the same purpose, by their acts of lawless invasion, outrage, and intimidation, they unitedly sought to destroy the results of our victory by inducing the free-State men to fight the United States troops. James H. Lane had expressed this purpose in Ohio, in his speeches during the summer. Rev. Mr. Higginson had just returned from a conference with Lane, and was urging Lane's methods. Every one must see that the plan proposed would have been complete ruin to the free-State cause. But Charles Robinson and the Emigrant Aid Company averted this danger.

Here is the last shot from the anarchists, in a speech of Wendell Phillips, printed in the *Liberator* of August 14, 1857:

"But Kansas—her battle will not be fought in the West, but on the chess-board at Washington, and in midnight session she will be betrayed. This administration will see Kansas, possibly Oregon and Nebraska, possibly the southern half of California —admitted as slave States; and then, with four or six more votes in the Senate, with the prestige of success, how will you meet another Presidential election?"

Turn back a few pages and you find Mr. Phillips saying, "When you throw the struggle with slavery into the half-barbarous West, where things are decided by the bowie-knife and revolver, slavery triumphs." All that had been done and slavery had been defeated. But now all our success in Kansas is to count for nothing, since the battle is to be "fought on the chess-board at Washington." The prophet of evil still adheres to his original idea that

Kansas shall be a slave State by some means. This, like all his other prophecies, proved to be entirely fallacious. From this time forward his course, as Roosevelt says, "was either mischievous or ridiculous, and sometimes both."

But the Emigrant Aid Company had able defenders as well as violent assailants. Charles Sumner, on the 19th of May, 1856, in his speech "The Crime against Kansas," made an elaborate and eloquent eulogy of this company and of the State which gave it life.

We quote as follows:

"It only remains, under this head, that I should speak of the apology *infamous*, founded on false testimony against the Emigrant Aid Company, and assumptions of duty more false than the testimony. Defying truth and mocking decency, this apology excels all others in futility and audacity, while, from its utter hollowness, it proves the utter impotence of the conspirators to defend their crime. Falsehood, always *infamous*, in this case arouses peculiar scorn. An association of sincere benevolence, faithful to the Constitution and laws, whose only fortifications are hotels, school-houses, and churches; whose only weapons are saw-mills, tools, and books; whose mission is peace and good-will, has been falsely assailed on this floor, and an errand of blameless virtue has been made the pretext for an unpardonable crime. Nay, more—the innocent are sacrificed, and the guilty set at liberty. They who seek to do the mission of the Saviour are scourged and crucified, while the murderer, Barabbas, with the sympathy of the chief priests, goes at large.

* * * * * * *

"Sir, it has not the honor of being an abolition society, or of numbering among its officers Abolitionists. Its president is a retired citizen, of ample means and charitable life, who has taken no part in the conflicts on slavery, and has never allowed his sympathies to be felt by Abolitionists. One of its vice-presidents is a gentleman from Virginia, with family and friends

there, who has always opposed the Abolitionists. Its generous treasurer, who is now justly absorbed by the objects of the company, has always been understood as ranging with his extensive connections, by blood and marriage, on the side of that quietism which submits to all the tyranny of the slave power. Its directors are more conspicuous for wealth and science than for any activity against slavery. Among these is an eminent lawyer of Massachusetts, Mr. Chapman—personally known, doubtless, to some who hear me—who has distinguished himself by an austere conservatism, too natural to the atmosphere of courts, which does not flinch even from the support of the Fugitive Slave Bill. In a recent address at a public meeting in Springfield, this gentleman thus speaks for himself and his associates:

"'I have been a director of the society from the first, and have kept myself well informed in regard to its proceedings. I am not aware that any one in this community ever suspected me of being an Abolitionist; but I have been accused of being pro-slavery; and I believe many good people think I am quite too conservative on that subject. I take this occasion to say that all the plans and proceedings of the society have met my approbation; and I assert that it has never done a single act with which any political party, or the people of any section of the country, can justly find fault. The name of its president, Mr. Brown, of Providence, and of its treasurer, Mr. Lawrence, of Boston, are a sufficient guarantee in the estimation of intelligent men against its being engaged in any fanatical enterprise. Its stockholders are composed of men of all political parties except Abolitionists. I am not aware that it has received the patronage of that class of our fellow-citizens, and I am informed that some of them disapprove of its proceedings.'

"The acts of the company have been such as might be expected from auspices thus severely careful at all points. The secret through which, with small means, it has been able to accomplish so much is that, *as an inducement to emigration, it has gone forward and planted capital in advance of population.* According to the old immethodical system, this rule is reversed; and population has been left to grope blindly, without the advantage of fixed centres, with mills, schools, and churches—all calculated to soften the hardships of pioneer life—such as have been established beforehand in Kansas. Here, sir, is the secret of the Emigrant Aid Company. By this single principle, which is now practically applied for the first time in history, and which

has the simplicity of genius, a business association at a distance, without a large capital, has become a beneficent instrument of civilization, exercising the functions of various societies, and in itself being a Missionary Society, a Bible Society, a Tract Society, an Education Society, and a Society for the Diffusion of the Mechanic Arts. I would not claim too much for this company; but I doubt if, at this moment, there is any society which is so completely philanthropic; and since its leading idea, like the light of a candle from which other candles are lighted without number, may be applied indefinitely, it promises to be an important aid to human progress.

* * * * * * *

"But since a great right has been denied, the children of the free States, over whose cradles has shone the north-star, owe it to themselves, to their ancestors, and to freedom itself, that this right should now be asserted to the fullest extent. By the blessing of God, and under the continued protection of the laws, they will go to Kansas, there to plant their homes, in the hope of elevating this Territory soon into the sisterhood of free States; and to such end they will not hesitate, in the employment of all legitimate means, whether by companies of men or contributions of money, to swell a virtuous emigration, and they will justly scout any attempt to question this unquestionable right. Sir, if they failed to do this, they would be fit only for slaves themselves.

"God be praised! Massachusetts, honored commonwealth that gives me the privilege to plead for Kansas on this floor, knows her rights, and will maintain them firmly to the end. This is not the first time in history that her public acts have been arraigned, and that her public men have been exposed to contumely. Thus was it when, in the olden time, she began the great battle whose fruits you all enjoy. But never yet has she occupied a position so lofty as at this hour. By the intelligence of her population—by the resources of her industry—by her commerce, cleaving every wave—by her manufactures, various as human skill—by her institutions of education, various as human knowledge—by her institutions of benevolence, various as human suffering—by the pages of her scholars and historians—by the voices of her poets and orators, she is now exerting an influence more subtle and commanding than ever before—shooting

her far-darting rays wherever ignorance, wretchedness, or wrong prevail, and flashing light upon those who travel far to persecute her.

"Such is Massachusetts, and I am proud to believe that you may as well attempt, with puny arm, to topple down the earth-rooted, heaven-kissing granite which crowns the historic sod of Bunker Hill, as to change her fixed resolves for freedom everywhere, and especially now for freedom in Kansas. I exult, too, that in this battle, which surpasses far in moral grandeur the whole war of the Revolution, she is able to preserve her just eminence. To the first she contributed a larger number of troops than any other State in the Union, and larger than all the slave States together; and now to the second, which is not of contending armies but of contending opinions, on whose issue hangs trembling the advancing civilization of the country, she contributes through the manifold and endless intellectual activity of her children, more of that divine spark by which opinions are quickened into life, than is contributed by any other State, or by all the slave States together, while her annual productive industry excels in value three times the whole vaunted cotton crop of the whole South.

"Sir, to men on earth it belongs only to deserve success, not to secure it; and I know not how soon the efforts of Massachusetts will wear the crown of triumph. But it cannot be that she acts wrong for herself or her children when in this cause she thus encounters reproach. No; by the generous souls who were exposed at Lexington; by those who stood arrayed on Bunker Hill; by the many from her bosom who, on all the fields of the first great struggle, lent their vigorous arms to the cause of all; by the children she has borne whose names are national trophies, is Massachusetts now vowed irrevocably to this work. What belongs to the faithful servant she will do in all things, and Providence shall determine the result."

The only Southern authority approving of the plan and operations of the Emigrant Aid Company was furnished by *De Bow's Review* of March, 1858, as follows:

"We of the South have been practising 'Organized Emigration' for a century, and hence have outstripped the North in the acquisition of land. The owner of a hundred slaves, who, with his overseer, moves to the West, carries out a self-supporting, self-insuring, well organized community. This is the sort of 'Organized Emigration' which experience shows suits the South and the negro race, while Mr. Thayer's is equally well adapted to the whites."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHURCHES AND THE CRUSADE.

PENDING the discussion in Congress of the proposed repeal of the Missouri Compromise, three thousand and fifty of the loyal and patriotic clergymen of New England sent the following protest to the United States Senate:

"*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:*

"The undersigned, clergymen of different religious denominations in New England, hereby, in the name of Almighty God, and in his presence, do solemnly protest against the passage of what is known as the Nebraska Bill, or any repeal or modification of the existing legal prohibitions of slavery in that part of our national domain which it is proposed to organize into the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas. We protest against it as a great moral wrong, as a breach of faith, eminently unjust to the moral principles of the community, and subversive of all confidence in national engagements; as a measure full of danger to the peace and even the existence of our beloved Union, and exposing us to the righteous judgments of the Almighty; and your protestants, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

"BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, *March* 1, 1854."

Several other similar protests from clergymen in other parts of the Northern States were presented to the same august body before the passage of the bill. These worthy men, exercising the right of petition which belongs to every American citizen,

were grossly abused by some of the Senators, while they were bravely and ably defended by others.

The influence of this action of the clergy and its rebuke by the Senate resulted in the creation of a mighty factor in aid of the Emigrant Aid Company, in securing freedom to Kansas, and in the destruction of slavery. In fact, the earliest reliance of our company was upon these clergymen and their churches. There was no political antislavery party which had any power to aid our organized emigration or to protect the rights of our emigrants. The Free-soil party had then dwindled to almost nothing. Its members, whether in or out of Congress, were hopeless as well as helpless. The one central principle of the party — the exclusion of slavery from the Territories by law of Congress — was utterly destroyed and put beyond any hope of revival by opening Kansas and Nebraska to slavery. This was a time of general gloom and despair in the free States. Their only hope was based upon the "plan of freedom" adopted by the New England Emigrant Aid Company. Among the first to recognize the power and possibilities of that plan were these protesting clergymen. Indeed, the very first man to express confidence in its success, and his own readiness to work for it with all his might, was Rev. Edward Everett Hale, one of the signers of the protest. True to his pledge, he immediately began to write a book minutely describing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, showing their many attractions, the way to reach them, and enumerating the Emigrant Aid

companies already formed. This was really a hand-book for emigrants, and was of very great service in our efforts to arouse the public to the importance of organized emigration. But the eminent services of Mr. Hale's pen, whether in books or newspapers, were but a fraction of his Kansas work. At the time of the great crusade he was pastor of a church in Worcester. Whenever I was unable to meet all my appointments, it was my custom to apply to this self-sacrificing divine. He never disappointed me. He seemed never to think of himself until he had thought of everybody else. With characteristic energy and fidelity he proceeded to unite the Northern clergy and their churches in support of our Boston company in 1855, after we had shown our power in Kansas and had made it evident that, with proper effort on the part of the North, the freedom of that Territory would be assured. In this way many of the clergy became life-members of our company and were our stanch friends and supporters. In all my lecturing tours for uniting the people of the free States in the great work of securing freedom to Kansas, I found them invaluable aids. Their churches were everywhere open for my meetings, and almost without exception they reinforced my arguments with appropriate and effective appeals for patriotism and freedom.

Though instances were numerous in which the clergymen made impressive appeals to their congregations in favor of our cause, I now recall one which may serve to illustrate my meaning, and prove the patriotism of these heroic and self-sacrificing men.

I was advertised to speak in the church of a small town at the foot of the mountains in Vermont, in the winter of 1854–55. Having spoken the night before in a town some fifty miles distant, I started by railroad early the next day to meet my evening appointment. There was a drifting snow-storm of unusual severity during the forenoon, and our train having been blocked for several hours, I did not reach the meeting until it had been assembled half an hour. The church was well filled and I spoke for two hours. There was intense interest manifested throughout my remarks. After I had concluded, the venerable pastor arose and made one of the most stirring appeals for Kansas that I had ever heard. I remember now, thirty-four years later, the closing words of the patriarch. Addressing the young men, he said: "My sons, you have sometimes come to me to ask my advice concerning your future course of action. You have asked me if it would not be well for you to go to Boston or New York to become clerks or salesmen, or to engage in business for yourselves. I have replied that I thought you better off here. But now the time has come when I should be false to my sense of duty if I urged you to remain here longer. Now your country and all the great interests of civilization and human freedom call upon you to leave the green hills of your native State and join in the grand crusade to stop the progress of slavery. Go, my sons, and do not fear for me or for your parents, who must remain at home. God will provide for us. On yonder rocky farm upon the hill-side these

hands have earned one-half of my support for many years. The other half has been furnished me by yourselves and your fathers. Your leaving will increase our burdens; but these burdens will be lightened by the sense of having done our duty. I have always been intensely antislavery, though I have never failed to vote the Whig ticket. It has been a matter of faith with me that God would open a way for decisive action on this great issue. This time has now come, in His providence, when we must show whether we are worthy of freedom, or whether we are only fit to be slaves. Go, my sons, and do your duty, and may the God of our fathers bless you!"

In response to this eloquent appeal half a dozen young men joined our Kansas colonies. It was to clergymen of this character and their churches that the Garrison disunionists gave every hard name in their copious vocabulary.

In the *Liberator* of May 16, 1856 (twenty-third anniversary of the A. A. Society, New York City), Mr. Garrison offered, among other resolutions, these, which were unanimously passed:

"*Resolved:* That (making all due allowance for exceptional cases) the American Church continues to be the bulwark of slavery, and therefore impure in heart, hypocritical in profession, dishonest in practice, brutal in spirit, merciless in purpose—'A cage of unclean birds' and 'The synagogue of Satan.'

"*Resolved:* That such a church is, in the graphic language of Scripture, 'A cage of unclean birds' and the 'Synagogue of Satan,' and that such religious teachers are 'Wolves in sheep's clothing,' 'Watchmen that are blind,' 'Shepherds that cannot understand,' 'That all look to their own way, every one to his gain from his quarter.'"

In the files of the *Liberator* there are hundreds of other resolutions similar to the above in spirit and purpose. Among these "unclean birds" may be mentioned the venerable Eliphalet Nott, Francis Wayland, Lyman Beecher, Henry Ward Beecher, Leonard Bacon, Horace Bushnell, Edward Everett Hale, T. Starr King, and the other three thousand and fifty who signed the famous protest against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

But these resolution-builders were not content with efforts to destroy the clergymen and the churches over which they presided. They also aimed their vindictive shafts at all the missionary, charitable, and educational societies which Christian philanthropy had founded and sustained. The following extract from an editorial in a New York religious paper contains one out of hundreds of like import to be found in their records:

New York Observer, May, 1855:

"A CLEAN SWEEP.

"At a meeting of the American Antislavery Society held last week in this city, the following resolution was supported by Mr. Garrison from the Business Committee, and discussed, and, we presume, was unanimously adopted. If there is anything else in heaven or earth which these fanatics are disposed to denounce, it would be gratifying to know what and where it is:

"'*Resolved:* That the following religious organizations, viz., the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the American Home Missionary Society, the American Bible Society, the American Bible Union, the American Tract Society, the American Sunday School Union, the American and Foreign Christian Union, the American and Foreign Bible Society, the American Baptist Publication Society, the American Baptist Missionary Union, the American Baptist Home Mission Society,

the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, the Missionary Societies of the Protestant Methodists, Episcopal Methodists, Protestant Episcopal, and Moravian bodies, respectively, being in league and fellowship with the slave-holders of the South, utterly dumb in regard to the slave system, and inflexibly hostile to the antislavery movement, are not only wholly undeserving of any pecuniary aid or public countenance at the North, but cannot be supported without conniving at all the wrongs and outrages by which chattel slavery is characterized, and therefore ought to be instantly abandoned by every one claiming to be the friend of liberty and a disciple of Christ the Redeemer.'

"This resolution is submitted and supported by a man publishing a newspaper, in which he allows such blasphemy to be published from week to week as makes the blood run cold to read. In a recent number one of his correspondents says: 'If God has the power to abolish slavery and does not, he is a very scoundrel.' From this we infer readily that there is no God at all.

"We suppose that among all the supporters of the resolution we have copied above there are very few who believe in the existence of the God of the Bible. The society which they represent is now the only American antislavery society having any vitality whatever. In thus planting itself in defiant opposition to the entire body of Christian philanthropists in the United States, and boldly proclaiming its hostility to the Church and to all the institutions of Christian benevolence, it discloses its true character and reveals the natural result of unregulated and unscriptural measures of reform. . . . Strike out of being the societies enumerated in the damnatory resolution given above, and what would be left in the matter of philanthropy and benevolence? Separate the clergy from the asylums and other charitable houses of relief for the poor and distressed, and how long would they be sustained? Infidelity makes a great outcry about its philanthropy, but religion does the work."

One of the most effective details of the organization of the company was the system of life-membership for clergymen. It will be readily comprehended from the following circular, sent by a committee of clergymen to their brethren:

EDUCATION, TEMPERANCE, FREEDOM, RELIGION IN KANSAS.

DEAR SIR: We are engaged in an effort to have all the "clergymen of New England," made life members of the New England Emigrant Aid Company.

By insuring thus their coöperation in the direction of this Company, and by enlarging its funds at this period of its highest usefulness, we are satisfied that the Christians of New England will bring to bear a stronger influence in sustaining the principles of what was last year called the "Ministers' Memorial," than by any other means which Providence puts in their hands.

We ask such coöperation as you can give us; supposing that you may have been one of those 3,050 ministers, who in the Senate of the United States were pronounced to "know nothing of the facts, laws and votes involved in the Nebraska bill," and to have "no time to understand them." We are certain that you belong to that body of Northern ministers who have been prohibited from entering northwestern Missouri or Kansas, by those mobs of men who have attempted to take the law of that region into their own hands.

We beg your attention to the great work the New England Emigrant Aid Company has in hand. We ask your particular attention to the encouragement which divine Providence has given to its efforts. We beg you to observe all the facts in the case, before you give way to the false and discouraging impressions, assiduously circulated since the pretended election in Kansas, of March 30, which was the work, simply, of an invading army. You may rely on the following statements of the work of the Emigrant Aid Company, since it was established:

1. *For Freedom.*—It has assisted in establishing at commanding points the towns of Lawrence, Topeka, Osawatomie, Boston, Hampden, and Wabounse. In some of these towns it has mills —in most of them some investment of value to the settlers. These towns are all peopled by "Free-State men," whose whole influence goes to make Kansas free. There are other towns already started of similar character. The only "Slave-State" town of commanding influence in Kansas is Leavenworth, on the Missouri frontier, separated from the other settled parts of the Territory by Indian reservations. We may say, therefore, that all the most important centers of influence have been established or

assisted by the Emigrant Aid Company, and that their influence tells for the cause of Freedom. This Company has, in fact, directly transported between two and three thousand emigrants to Kansas. Not one man of them is known to have ever given a "Slave-State" vote. More than ten thousand, from free States of the Northwest, have been led there by its indirect influence here. To prevent the return of this tide, and to provide those who go with the assistance which capital only can provide, this Company wishes to supply saw-mills at important points, and other conveniences. For such purposes will it use any enlargement of its funds. The emigration is still very large; and wherever this Company can establish a saw-mill, with other conveniences, a "Free-State" town can be gathered. From the best sources of information, from the officers of the Company, and well-informed persons in Kansas and Missouri, we are convinced, as the result of what has been done, that the great proportion of settlers now in Kansas wish it to become a free State. At the election held on the 22d ult., to fill vacancies in the Legislature, nine "Free-State" members were chosen, and only three "Slave-State" members—the last in Leavenworth, which is separated by a ferry only from Missouri.

2. *For Religion.*—The officers of this Company have understood that, to make a free State, they needed, first of all, the Gospel. Every missionary sent there by different boards has received their active assistance. Divine service is regularly maintained in the towns where the company has influence, and, we believe, nowhere else. Every Sabbath school in the Territory has been formed with the assistance of the Company, or its officers. Every church organized has been organized with their coöperation.

3. *For Education.*—Schools will be in operation at Lawrence, at Topeka, at Osawatomie and Hampden before the end of July. These, which are the only schools in the Territory of which we have any account, are due to the exertions of the New England Emigrant Aid Company and its officers.

4. *For Temperance.*—The traffic in intoxicating liquors scarcely exists in any one of the towns founded with the Company's assistance, and any attempt to introduce it will be resisted by their citizens. This prohibition, intended in the first instance for the benefit of the towns, will approve itself to you as the only hope for the Indians still remaining in that Territory.

Such has been the work of this Company in one year. To carry further such operations in these towns, and to plant more towns at once in Kansas, so as to secure its future destiny before next January, the Company needs $150,000. We think it highly desirable that that sum shall be furnished by those who will continue to the Company the Christian direction which has always guided it. We address this statement of facts, therefore, to every clergyman in New England, asking for it their careful attention. For each of those gentlemen we hope to obtain a single share in the stock of the Company, entitling him to vote at its annual meetings. He will thus be made a life member of the Company.

If it be in your power to obtain, at once, a subscription of twenty dollars, that sum will purchase a share for you, which will be at once taken in your name. For the shares not thus taken, we shall at once set on foot a subscription through New England, and take the shares in the name of the remaining clergymen. To this subscription we ask your assistance, if you and your friends are willing to subscribe less than twenty dollars, or more. It is desirable that this subscription be made at once, and we rely on some answer from you at your earliest convenience—if possible, before the 15th of July. A stamped envelope, already directed to one of our Secretaries, will be found within.

It is proper to state that the New England Emigrant Aid Company is incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, and that no stockholder is liable, in any event, for anything beyond his first investment. Subscriptions of any amount will be at once acknowledged in the papers of Boston. This plan has been so favorably received before its general publication, that we believe the requisite number of shares will be readily subscribed for. The Essex South Conference of churches has provided, it is understood, for the shares of all its members. The Worcester Association has undertaken to make up the shares of all its members. From clergymen of all parts of New England we have assurances of sympathy and coöperation.

Yours, in Christian fellowship,

(Signed) LYMAN BEECHER,
BARON STOW, Rowe-st. Baptist Church,
CHARLES LOWELL, West Church, Boston,
S. STREETER, Pastor of First Universalist Church,
Committee on the Ministers' Memorial of 1854.

W. E. RICE, *Pastor of M. E. Church, Bromfield Street, Boston.*
JOHN H. TWOMBLY, *Pastor of M. E. Church, Hanover Street, Boston.*
EDWARD BEECHER, *Pastor of Salem-st. Church, Boston.*
T. STARR KING, *Pastor of Hollis-st. Church, Boston.*
JOHN S. STONE, *Brookline.*
HOSEA BALLOU, 2D, *President of Tufts College, Medford.*
CALVIN E. STOWE, *Andover.*
LEONARD BACON, *New Haven.*
JOEL HAWES, *First Church, Hartford.*
HORACE BUSHNELL, *North Church, Hartford.*

EDWARD E. HALE, Worcester,
H. LINCOLN WAYLAND, Worcester,
JOHN G. ADAMS, Worcester,
FRANKLIN RAND, Boston,
} *Secretaries.*

July 2, 1855.

LETTERS OF CLERGYMEN.

FROM REV. HORACE JAMES.

WORCESTER, *July* 23*d*, 1855.

Rev. Dr. Clarke.

DEAR BROTHER,—Thus do the people of my Society respond to your appeal in behalf of *Temperance, Freedom, and Religion in Kansas:* we have made our collection, and to the result! 779 "*bits*" *in a bag!* The whole congregation desired to participate in the effort, and therefore we limited them to *three-cent contributions.* And here they are, one for each man, each woman, and each child that happened to be at church on the afternoon of yesterday. The result, as you may well suppose, gratifies me hugely. You should have seen the zeal with which they did it. Never did fingers and thumbs move more nimbly in the performance of any good work. Verily, *there is hope for Kansas,* when multitudes are thus interested in its welfare. To be sure, $23.37 is a small sum; and yet it is no little matter that Kansas should thus be connected with the sympathy and interest, and, I hope, the prayers of seven hundred and seventy-nine individuals of my flock. I send, personally, with every coin in the bag, a hearty prayer for the prosperity of your noble enterprise.

So now that we have made our contribution, please forward

your certificate of stock, for we intend to have it framed and hung up in a conspicuous place in my study, to be exhibited to our friends, with exultation, *after Kansas is a free State.*

Yours very truly, HORACE JAMES,
Pastor of First Church in Worcester.

P.S.—Please credit to us the excess, $3.37, on another life-membership, which we will make up, if it be needful, in another way. H. J.

FROM REV. CHARLES WALKER.

PITTSFORD, VT., *Aug.* 2, '55.

Committee of the N. E. Emigrant Aid Co.

GENTLEMEN,—I inclose twenty dollars, which some individuals among my people have helped me to make up, for the purpose of obtaining for me a share in your Company.

In addition to this little pecuniary aid, be assured you have my sympathy and prayers in behalf of your enterprise, in this dark day, when not only the whole force of the slaveholding interest, but all the energies of "the powers that be," are arrayed against you. May God prosper the right.

Yours very truly, CHAS. WALKER.

FROM PROF. THOMAS C. UPHAM.

BRUNSWICK, ME., *August* 29, 1855.

T. P. Blanchard, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I send with this sixty dollars, to be credited as follows: Prof. Alpheus S. Packard, $20; Prof. William Smith, $20; Thomas C. Upham, $20—for the N. E. Emigrant Aid Society for Kansas.

Please send receipts or certificates of membership in the Society at the earliest moment. I hope to send something more soon. I have a deep feeling that Kansas ought to be and must be saved, cost what it will. Very sincerely yours,

THOMAS C. UPHAM.

FROM REV. S. B. MORLEY.

ATTLEBORO, *August* 30, 1855.

REV. DR. CLARK,—I send to you to-day, by express, $26.25, being the sum, and more, which you requested of us in your recent circular in behalf of the New England Emigrant Aid Society. We have, both pastor and people, contributed to this object with

the most hearty good-will, and our prayers go with the money. We *abhor* slavery, not for its occasional atrocities merely, but for its inherent, systematic wickedness, its unblushing repugnance to God's law, its impious assumption of unlimited power over *men* and *women*.

May the men whom your Society send to Kansas be *true* men, feel their responsibilities, be strong in the Lord, and plant there, never to be plucked up, the institutions of FREEDOM.

S. B. MORLEY.

FROM REV. W. C. JACKSON.

LINCOLN, MASS., *Sept.* 12, 1855.

Rev. J. S. Clark, D.D.

DEAR SIR,—Your circular for the Emigrant Aid Society came rather inopportunely for us farmers; I refer to the season of the year. We have raised the inclosed fifteen dollars by contribution. I hope the remainder will be made up.

We are all awake to the struggle in Kansas. We say, "Go on with your work of emigration. Be not weary in well-doing." Let us pour such an antislavery element into that swelling population that whatever political success slavery may obtain there, the very atmosphere shall be pestilential to it; yea, that it shall feel, as it grows up, a fire burning in its very vitals, and destined speedily to consume it. Sincerely yours,

W. C. JACKSON.

FROM REV. E. N. HIDDEN.

MILFORD, N. H., *Aug.* 15, 1855.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Inclosed you will find twenty dollars, a contribution from the Congregational Church and Society in Milford, N. H., to the New England Emigration Aid Society, to constitute their pastor, Rev. E. N. Hidden, a life member.

Being one of the "3,050" who sent our memorial *down* to Congress against the introduction of slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, but which they basely spurned, it is very gratifying to me now to know that the alms and the prayers of the people are going *up* as a memorial before God against the same evil. The one-dollar bill with the writing on the back was put into the contribution as it is. Please acknowledge this in the *Puritan Recorder*, that I may know of its safe passage.

Yours truly, E. N. HIDDEN.

This letter has the following indorsement: "On the back of one of the bills inclosed was as follows: 'No slavery in Kansas or Nebraska! Down with the slavery extensionists and doughfaces! Hurrah for free schools, free labor, free men, and free soil!'"

The clergymen of the free States, with their congregations, were (as a rule), practically, Kansas Leagues, stimulating patriotic zeal, and constantly furnishing reliable reinforcements to the well-disciplined army of freemen who marched to the field of conflict under the guidance and protection of the Emigrant Aid companies. Let them be remembered with honor and gratitude.*

* The letters above quoted are specimens of hundreds—perhaps thousands—received by the company.

CHAPTER IX.

THE NORTHERN DISUNIONISTS.

THE sentimental agency professedly hostile to slavery established and led by William Lloyd Garrison was older than the political organization known as the Free-soil Party, though really inferior to it both in numbers and influence. Their purposes were entirely different, and their plans had nothing in common. Garrison called himself an "immediativist." He demanded the immediate extinction of slavery, without any compensation to the owners of slaves. This was his policy in the earlier days of the *Liberator*. In a few years, however, he had found so little response favorable to these views that he relinquished them for the rallying cry of "Disunion." From this time to the end of his work he contended that "disunion was the corner-stone of all true antislavery." The following resolutions express the extreme views of the Garrisonites, now greatly reduced in numbers by the secession of their ablest and best men to form the "Liberty Party." A history of the quarrel between these two sections can be found in the *Liberator* and the *Liberty Party Almanac*. John G. Palfrey and his friends could not subscribe to the ruinous doctrines of anarchy and disunion.

They therefore withdrew from Garrison, and took with them the most patriotic and influential of his followers. All salutary restraint having been removed, the fanatics gave vent to their wildest fancies as follows:

Wendell Phillips, at the A. A. S. Convention in the Tabernacle, New York City, May 4, 1848, offered the following resolution, which was passed:

"That this Society deems it a duty to reiterate its convictions that the only exodus of the slave out of his present house of bondage is OVER THE RUINS OF THE PRESENT AMERICAN CHURCH AND THE PRESENT AMERICAN UNION."

In May, 1856, Mr. Garrison offered the following resolution at a meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-slavery Society:

"*Resolved:* That the one great issue before the country is THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION, in comparison with which all other issues with the slave power are as dust in the balance; therefore we will give ourselves to the work of annulling this 'covenant with death' as essential to our own innocency, and the speedy and everlasting overthrow of the slave system."

The following was also adopted by the Abolitionists in New York City in December, 1859:

"*Resolved:* That we invite a free correspondence with the Disunionists of the South, in order to devise the most suitable way and means to secure the dissolution of the present imperfect and inglorious union between the free and slave States."

In May, 1854, Mr. Garrison says editorially: "A thousand times accursed be the Union." On the 5th of the next July he publicly burned the Constitution of the United States at South Framingham, Mass.

In these few quotations the Disunionists have given convincing evidence of their vicious political character. They despised law. They burned the Constitution. They cursed the Union. They were the original secessionists, and had advocated the dissolution of the Union for twenty years before Jefferson Davis tried to put their doctrines into practice.

With such views and purposes the people of the Northern States had no sympathy. The Abolitionists may have had good motives, but their judgment was invariably bad. Their methods were everywhere condemned. They never attained to the dignity or influence of a party or even a faction. They were a cabal, active, noisy, and pugnacious, but never effective. By their own showing, a quarter of a century spent in denouncing the Church, the clergy, and the Union had accomplished nothing. Slavery had grown stronger every day, while opposition to it had not increased at all. Massachusetts was as sound an antislavery State before they were born as it has ever been since. But she was for legal and constitutional methods only, and always for the Union.

In 1787 Nathan Dane, one of our representatives in Congress, revived the ordinance introduced three years earlier by Thomas Jefferson, and secured its passage. All this was before Garrison was born! But such antislavery action was not repeated during the entire period of Mr. Garrison's efforts for disunion. In all that time slavery was unrestricted, and made steady progress.

Slavery never had a legal existence in Massachusetts. The people never wanted it and always hated it. They hated its adjuncts and attendants of manacles and auction-blocks as much before Garrison was born as they did after he had pictured them in the *Liberator* for twenty-five years. His incessant pecking at the leaves and twigs of the upas-tree of slavery seemed to stimulate rather than retard its growth. The Northern people ardently desired to destroy the tree itself, and were ready to adopt any legal and constitutional plan which might do this work. Garrison's method of casting out a devil by splitting the patient in two lengthwise they did not approve, for two reasons:

1st. Because the patient would die;

2d. Because the devil would live.

Some friends of the Abolitionists still claim that Garrison and his associates founded the Liberty and Free-soil parties. This claim is the exact opposite of the truth. They opposed both these parties, and hated their champions more than they hated the slave-holders themselves. They constantly abused every leading antislavery man who was not a Disunionist. Ample proof of this can be seen in the editorials of the *Liberator* against Horace Mann, Salmon P. Chase, and Dr. Bellows. Lincoln, Seward, Wade, Sumner, and Wilson were not spared.*

* At a meeting of the Worcester County South Division A. S. Society held at Worcester, August 12, 1860, Parker Pillsbury offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

"*Resolved:* That in the two recently published speeches of Charles Sumner, we see the blinding, bewildering, and deprav-

About the time of Sumner's death, Mr. Garrison went before a committee of the Massachusetts Legislature to protest against expunging some foolish resolutions on record denouncing that famous Senator.*

But why prolong the description? Let the Abolitionists draw their own portraits. They still exist in the columns of the *Liberator*. That paper is an arsenal amply sufficient to furnish arms to a million of their assailants.

With all their keenness of vision, the Abolitionists never saw anything as it was. With all their eloquence, they never advocated any cause to a successful issue. With all their prophetic power and practice, they never predicted any event which came to pass. With all their love of freedom, they constantly increased the burdens of the slaves. Demanding immediate emancipation, they strove to retard the overthrow of slavery. Contending for the dissolution of the Union as the only means of destroying slavery, they saw slavery destroyed not only without their aid, but against their protest,

ing effect of American politics, and of contact with slave-holders —the former, made in the U. S. Senate, being a four hours' argument against the 'five-headed barbarism of slavery,' and repudiated by many of the leaders of Republicanism; and the latter a full admission of the constitutionality of slave-holding, and an eloquent argument in favor of the election of Lincoln and Hamlin, both of whom believe in slave-*hunting* as well as slave-*holding*, and who virtually declare in their platform that the noble John Brown was one of the gravest criminals who ever died by a halter."

* See "Warrington Pen Portraits," page 366.

while the Union was preserved and made permanent and harmonious.* Incessantly denouncing

* The following letter, written by Col. Asa H. Waters a short time before his death, is so conclusive in its statements that it may appropriately be given a place here.

"MILLBURY, *Nov.* 20th, 1886.

"*Mr. Thayer:*

"DEAR SIR,—When the Free-soil Party was formed in '48 Garrison and his party had labored seventeen years and failed to carry a single town in New England. In one year we put ninety members into the Legislature, the second year we carried Worcester County, and the third year put a *Jupiter Tonans*—Charles Sumner—into the very citadel of the slave power. Then, at a convention in Worcester, Wilson had the party christened the Republican Party, with the same Free Soil platform, and on that we elected Lincoln President, and he abolished Slavery.

"In all this we had the bitter opposition of Garrison and his party, which finally clasped hands with the Disunionists of the South, in a determined effort to break up the Union. Had they succeeded, so far from abolishing slavery, they would have vastly extended it. The design of the South was to cope in New Mexico, Arizona, Indian Territory, Utah, and Southern California, and thus build up a great Southern Empire founded on Slavery. I enclose the resolution in which they proposed the unholy alliance. A committee was chosen, and I think M. D. Conway was chairman. The correspondence was never published. Secession movements soon after commenced, and in a little over a year the war broke out. It was suppressed and slavery abolished by the patriotic Union sentiment of the North, which always was its predominant political sentiment. 'Down with the Disunionists;' 'Death to traitors, slavery or no slavery,' were the cries that rang through the ranks; and for a long time the army returned fugitive slaves. At length it was discovered that the rebels were using their slaves as a means of strength, which made them contraband of war and liable to confiscation. Then their obstinate resistance created a 'military necessity,' and on these two principles rather than by any authority in the

the clergy and churches of the Northern States as the upholders of slavery, they lived to see these among the foremost agencies in its destruction by the methods of the Emigrant Aid Company, which the Abolitionists hated, ridiculed, and opposed.

The following resolutions plainly show how the disunionists regarded all the political antislavery parties. The *Liberator* of September 15, 1848, records the following resolution, passed in the A. A. S. Convention:

"*Resolved:* That James G. Birney was dropped by the Liberty party, on the ground that John P. Hale (who was never an Abolitionist) was the more available candidate—and now J. P. Hale

United States Constitution, President Lincoln issued his proclamation.

"The abolitionists opposed his election, and being non-resistants, were rarely found in the ranks, and they thus failed for the most part to become identified with the active forces that abolished slavery.

"And yet, for twenty years the press has been teeming with their effusions in poetry and prose, to convince the world that they abolished slavery! They have done much to falsify history, and produce wrong impressions on the rising generation. A duty devolves on those who know the facts, to counteract and set back this tide. But how shall it be done? Where is the press that can be enlisted?

"I had a long controversy with Oliver Johnson; he finally jumped the fence and cleared from the field, declaring he never made the issue that Garrison abolished slavery. The editor (Slack) said he did. He boasted of being 'a member of the Republican Party.' In the Greeley campaign of '72 against Grant, he labored with his Southern allies and they carried six Southern States, but no Northern. That shows his consistency.

"Yours respectfully,

"A. H. WATERS."

is superseded by Martin Van Buren (an open enemy of anti-slavery) for the same reason—which shows that party as devoid of integrity and fixed principle as either of the others."

The *Liberator*, November, 1860, records this resolution, adopted by A. A. S. Convention:

"All who are parties to the Union and supporters of the Constitution and Federal Government are guilty of sustaining the iniquitous system of slavery."

The *Liberator* of June, 1854, has the following resolution denouncing the Free-soil party (adopted by A. A. S. Convention) as:

"Devoid of principle, false to the cause of liberty, and utterly unworthy of the confidence and support of those who would labor effectively for the abolition of slavery."

The *Liberator* of June 6, 1856, gives the following speech of Wendell Phillips, made before the N. E. A. A. S. Convention, in Boston:

"But Mr. Fremont—what claims has he upon the friends of freedom? Our friend, Theodore Parker, says very truly that he has got a good wife. Well, if all of us who have got good wives are to be put up for President, there will be a great many candidates. We used to hear of the goodness of Judge McLean's wife, and he made more pro-slavery law on the bench than all the pro-slavery judges put together, in spite of his wife; and now Mr. Giddings says he is ready to write on his banner even the name of McLean. At least he said so while there was a Kansas, but now she is gone, he may rise to a higher thought and be unwilling to struggle for a broken reed."

But while these fanatics ridiculed the platforms of all political parties, they were evidently proud of principles like the following. At an anniversary

meeting of the Massachusetts Antislavery Society, held in Faneuil Hall January 23 and 24, 1850, it was

"*Resolved:* That we seek a dissolution of the Union," etc., . . . and that

"We do hereby declare ourselves the enemies of the Constitution, Union, and Government of the United States, and the friends of the new confederacy of States, where there shall be no union with slave-holders," etc., . . . and

"We proclaim it as our unalterable purpose and determination to live and labor for a dissolution of the present Union, by all lawful and just, though bloodless and pacific means," etc.

On the above, Mr. George Ticknor Curtis comments as follows:

"Certain obvious reflections will occur to those who may hereafter read these proceedings in the light of what has actually occurred: First, that, whether attempted at the North or at the South, the idea of breaking up the Union and destroying the Constitution by 'bloodless and pacific means' was a chimera, palpably impossible; . . . secondly, that if it was right for such sentiments and purposes to be proclaimed in Boston, it was equally right to proclaim them in Nashville."—Curtis's "Life of Webster," vol. ii., pp. 399, 400.

Such were Garrison and his methods. He began his work with such anathemas against slave-holders and all who did not subscribe to his own wild theories that men who before had often expressed strong antislavery convictions were driven to silence lest they should be confounded with the disunionists.

Dr. Horace Bushnell, in his famous sermon in 1839, said to these fanatics: "Our clergy used to set forth on fast-days and other like occasions, as I recollect with the greatest satisfaction, the na-

tional crime of slavery. And when they prayed on the subject, they prayed for emancipation—did it, too, *pleno corde*, and without adding ingenious qualifications, as we are driven to do, to show that we are not members of your society."

In this way the expression of antislavery sentiments was suppressed even among loyal and patriotic clergymen. Political parties were even more sensitive, and dreaded above all things the charge of sympathy with Garrisonism.

In support of what has already been said, some opinions of eminent authors, statesmen, and journalists concerning the disunion Abolitionists and their methods are here introduced. These are only a minute fraction—not a hundredth part—of what could easily be furnished. Extending through a period of thirty years, they present a faithful picture of these lunatics in every stage of their development, or rather of their inverted evolution. They furnish, too, abundant proof of the utter detestation and scorn of nearly all the people for this noisy cabal of irrepressible scolds.

These sickly minds that "fevered into false creation" had no admirers among sound and healthy patriots.

Theodore Roosevelt, in his admirable "Life of Benton," sustains the preceding views with characteristic courage and ability as follows:

"The cause of the Abolitionists has had such a halo shed round it by the after-course of events, which in reality they did very little to shape, that it has been usual to speak of them with absurdly exaggerated praise. . . .

"The Abolition societies were only in a very restricted degree the causes of the growing feeling in the North against slavery: they are rather to be regarded as themselves manifestations of that feeling. . . .

"When the Abolitionist movement started it was avowedly designed to be cosmopolitan in character; the originators looked down upon any merely national or patriotic feeling. This again deservedly took away from their influence. In fact, it would have been most unfortunate had a majority of the Northerners been from the beginning in hearty accord with the Abolitionists; at the best, it would have resulted at that time in the disruption of the Union and the perpetuation of slavery in the South. . . .

"But slavery was an interest common to the whole South. When it was felt to be in any way menaced, all Southerners came together for its protection; and from the time of the rise of the Abolitionists onward the Separatist movement throughout the South began to identify itself with the maintenance of slavery, and gradually to develop greater and greater strength. . . .

"Owing to a variety of causes, the Abolitionists have received a vast amount of hysterical praise, which they do not deserve, and have been credited with deeds done by other men whom they in reality hampered and opposed rather than aided. After 1840, the professed Abolitionists formed but a small and comparatively unimportant portion of the forces that were working towards the restriction and ultimate destruction of slavery; and much of what they did was positively harmful to the cause for which they were fighting. Those of their number who considered the Constitution as a league with death and hell, and who therefore advocated a dissolution of the Union, acted as rationally as would anti-polygamists nowadays, if, to show their disapproval of Mormonism, they should advocate that Utah should be allowed to form a separate nation. The only hope of ultimately suppressing slavery lay in the preservation of the Union, and every Abolitionist who argued or signed a petition for its dissolution was doing as much to perpetuate the evil he complained of as if he had been a slave-holder. . . .

"The Liberty party was not in any sense the precursor of the Republican party, which was based as much on expediency as abstract right, and was therefore able to accomplish good in-

stead of harm. To say that the extreme Abolitionists triumphed in Republican success and were causes of it, is as absurd as it would be to call Prohibitionists successful if, after countless futile efforts totally to prohibit the liquor traffic, and after savage denunciation of those who try to regulate it, they should then turn round and form a comparatively insignificant portion of a victorious high-license party."

The five quotations which follow are from statesmen and journalists of world-wide fame. They were contemporary with the Garrison anarchists, and knew whereof they spoke. The well-considered words of John Quincy Adams, Thurlow Weed, Richard H. Dana, Jr., Horace Greeley, and Samuel Bowles will be good authority with the American people long after the Garrison eulogists shall have ceased to falsify history.

The following extracts are quoted from the diary of John Quincy Adams:

"*September*, 1837.—Lundy and the Abolitionists generally are constantly urging me to indiscreet movements, which would ruin me, and weaken and not strengthen their cause.

"*November*, 1838.—Dr. Channing appeared to entertain great apprehensions for the Union, and deep concern at the violence of the abolition spirit. . . . The result of their interposition has been hitherto mischievous and, I believe, injurious to their own cause.

"*September*, 1839.—But this, I suppose, emanates from the enthusiasm of antislavery, not yet refrigerated, as with the great mass of Abolitionists it has been, by the dampers which I have put upon their senseless and overbearing clamor for the immediate, total, uncompensated abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

"*August*, 1840.—Garrison and the non-resistant Abolitionists, Brownson and the Marat Democrats, phrenology, and animal magnetism all come in, furnishing each some plausible rascality

as an ingredient for the bubbling caldron of religion and politics."

Thurlow Weed (page 306, "Memoirs") says:

"With opponents of slavery, led by John Quincy Adams, I lived and labored in harmony and zeal. We were eternally opposed by Birney, Goodell, Garrison, and other Abolitionists, who, in election so cast their 'third party' vote as to elect pro-slavery Governors, Congressmen, and Presidents. Finally, by defeating Mr. Clay, they brought Texas into the Union as a slave State. That class of Abolitionists threw themselves across the track of all healthful political organization."

Again, on page 305, he says:

"William Lloyd Garrison closed his review of thirty years of editorial service with an article glorying at the prospect of disunion. . . . In a speech at Boston, Wendell Phillips said: 'Let the South march off; with flags and trumpets we will speed the parting guest. Let her not stand upon the order of her going, but go at once. Give her forts, arsenals, and sub-treasuries. Give her jewels of silver and gold, and rejoice that she has departed. All hail disunion!'"

Richard H. Dana, Jr., March, 1861, in a speech made in Manchester, N. H., said:

"These Abolitionists at the North of whom I speak, left to themselves, and of their own force, attract little attention and have little influence. Their disconnection from politics, their secession attitude, their disunion purposes, render it so. I have known them from my college days, and I do not see but that they have the same orators and much the same audiences they had then. I do not see that they have added one convert of note to their ranks, or even kept pace with the increase of population. Their organ is the *Liberator*. Who sees the *Liberator*? Is it sold at our railroad-stations, or in our horse-cars or steam-cars, or at our steamboat-landings, or hawked in the streets? I see a good deal of what is going on in Boston, but to the best of my recollection I never saw it but once in my life, and then it was sent to me by mail from a Southern city."

New York Tribune, December, 1860:

HORACE GREELEY ON WENDELL PHILLIPS'S "HOLIER THAN THOU."

"'Did you ever,' says Rabelais, 'see a dog with a marrow-bone in his mouth—the beast of all others, according to Plato, the most philosophical? If you have seen him, you might have remarked with what devotion and circumspection he wards and watches it; with what care he keeps it; how fervently he holds it; how prudently he gobbles it; with what affection he breaks it; and with what diligence he sucks it.' Antislavery is Mr. Phillips's bone, and no man can venture to indulge in a little philanthropy without provoking from that gentleman a sub-acidulous snarl. He dotes only on those who disagree with him, and all his converts immediately become the objects, not, perhaps, of his jealousy, but certainly of his suspicion. He loves his enemies because it is so delightful to pummel them, and he dilates with pleasure over some fresh and uncommon wickedness, just as a surgeon admires a large ulcer better than a cheek which health has incarnadined. . . . Mr. Phillips is a close-communion reformer. You must take the wine out of his cup, or you shall not have a drop. You must receive the bread from his plate, or you shall not swallow a scrap. . . . A bigot of liberality, a sectarian anti-sectarian, a sour philanthropist, is not a pleasing object. Mr. Phillips should remember that hostility to human bondage cannot be monopolized by seven men in Cornhill, Boston; and that a presidential election is of more consequence in the world's turmoil than six 'antislavery bazaars.' . . . He lacks largeness of views to that deplorable extent that he cannot conceive of a tempest outside of a teapot. A little convention in a little village passing a little series of little resolutions, and just a little disturbed by the lewd and base, is to Mr. Phillips the most august of all possible human gatherings. . . . It is his misfortune, as it is that of the handful who consort with him, that they look at large events through the large end of the telescope, while, when little affairs are to be scrutinized, there is no microscope powerful enough to satisfy their desire for magnificence. . . . Everything must be done in the routine of a clique. You must subscribe for the *Liberator*. You must be

mobbed twice a year—once in New York and once in Boston. You must think as Mr. Garrison thinks, and you must not think as anybody else thinks. If you are found faithful in these things you are esteemed faithful in all. . . . Our only doubt is whether it is even worth while to set them right. Perhaps it would be most merciful to leave a mill-horse to stagger in his circle to the end, for he will fall down if taken out of it, and even if he should survive the transplantation he will be utterly useless for the plain, straightforward highway."

Daily Evening Traveller, Boston, Mass., May 29, 1857:

SAMUEL BOWLES'S EDITORIAL.

"The great majority of the Garrisonian party forfeit all claim to our esteem by being blasphemous, vituperative, coarse, and vile in their manners and language. We need not instance a man named Foss, who has the impudence to claim the title Reverend, and who began a sentence in a speech at New York week before last with the phrase, 'I hate the Union,' and ended it by saying, 'I hate Jesus Christ.' All the leaders of the Garrisonian party sat around, but no one of them rebuked the monstrous blasphemy. The speech was circulated through all the Southern papers, and Mr. Foss was denounced as 'a Republican.' If he had died in his cradle he would have done better by himself than to have lived to commit this sin.

"The same style of thought has been manifested at this gathering in the Melodeon. We listened yesterday to the comprehensive abuse uttered by Mr. Higginson, who also claims to be a minister of the gospel. If we had stayed five minutes longer than we did, and his effect had been equal to his effort, we should have been convinced that the population of the world consisted of one billion of depraved wretches and one perfect man named Higginson. It was just so with the whole of them, the same eternal whine, redeemed only in the case of Wendell Phillips by eloquence.

"All such stuff does harm. The few Garrisonians whom we believe honest in uttering it, we wish could be brought under different influences, for they are unconsciously injuring the anti-slavery cause. They are sustaining by their weight of character

an organization four-fifths of whose members are selfish or indiscreet men and unsexed women; an organization which has become fruitless, and will die in the next generation. . . .

"For the remainder of the Garrisonian party, the strong-minded women, and the professional humanitarians who earn their daily bread by injuring the noble cause they propose to serve, we have no feelings but of ridicule and contempt. It is useless to meet them in argument. They are not worth treating with pity. One of their peculiarities is a key to their whole character. The nearer a well-behaved man comes to their professed antislavery doctrines, the more vilely they abuse him."

Without distracting the attention of the reader by useless comment, I here submit to his judgment twenty-two letters and editorials from writers in widely separated localities, and all contemporary with those whom they criticise. These are only representative; a thousand more of like import could be readily furnished.

Extract from a letter of Rev. John Guthrie to George Thompson, in the Glasgow *Christian Witness*, 1851:

"What is this organization—this American Antislavery Society—to which we must all succumb, and after which British 'Evangelicals,' with Mr. George Thompson at their head, must be content to be dragged through the infidel mire? What but a miserable faction—a minute fraction of the American people—a seething caldron of infidel and anarchical agitation, comprising the various shades of rationalism in New England, and sending forth agents on a crusade against both the Church and the State, some of whom are apostate ministers, and are as audacious blasphemers as ever polluted with their foul breath the moral atmosphere of our world? . . .

"There are some things worse than slavery, or even war. Infidelity is worse; anarchy is worse. If war slays its thousands, one week's anarchy, on either side of the Atlantic, would

slay its myriads and its millions. The Garrisonians seek to compass the triumph of both."

Editorial on Garrison Abolitionists in the Glasgow *Christian News*, 1852:

"The gentlemen whom I refer to are men of peace. They would not handle daggers—no, not they! They would not handle them, but they speak them; they write them. Like the apocalyptic monster, they have horns like a lamb, but they speak like a dragon. They base Abolitionism on directly infidel principles. They propose infidel resolutions at public meetings. They do their utmost to identify Christianity and slavery, and to inoculate with this poison every fugitive slave who comes in their way; and instead of contenting themselves with striking at slavery through whatever churches and other influences they can, without questioning their motives or their honest desire to see slavery abolished, we yet venture to say that on too many occasions they seem to be most in their element when they aim a blow through slavery at the very heart of the churches and of that holy religion of which, with all their faults, the American churches are the shrines."

Detroit Free Press, November, 1853:

"What sort of friends to the slave are Garrison, Abby Kelly, or the other kindred spirits that congregate at Abolition conventions? They deem it a humane act to steal negroes from their masters, run them into Canada, and there leave them to starve; but so actuated by 'principle' are they that they would not contribute a dollar to purchase all the slaves in Christendom. And they would be satisfied with no plan by which slavery should be gradually abolished. Immediate abolition, regardless of consequences, is their watchword, or no abolition at all. Impracticable on every subject, their influence is all for evil—in no respect for good.

"But the infidelity of this sect, their attacks upon the Christian Church and the Christian religion, their assaults upon the Bible, and their denial of God, we desire to hold up to public attention and public reprobation. The evil is, perhaps, one that

will best cure itself; but right-thinking men, no matter what may be their peculiar opinions in regard to slavery, should discourage, in all proper ways, the propagation of doctrines which so inevitably lead to infidelity."

Boston Bee, May, 1853:

"A VOICE FROM GARRISON.—William Lloyd Garrison made a speech yesterday at the Melodeon, in which he boasted that he stood outside the Union; and furthermore he thanked God he was not recognized as a Christian! No one will doubt the first part of his remark, and the only regret we have, in common with American citizens generally, is that he is not corporeally out of the country. As to the latter part of the sentence, we may say that there is no danger of as black an infidel as there is in the nation being taken for a Christian. Any one who has heard this blasphemous reviler of the Church, the Bible, and religion for the past fifteen years will smile at his Tom Paine sensitiveness lest he be regarded for what the decent part of the world respect and reverence."

Milford (N. H.) *Republican* (Free-soil), June, 1858:

"IN FULL BLAST.—The real Simon Pure Abolitionists have been in convention in New York. Time does not seem to temper their zeal with discretion. The sentiments expressed were a curious mixture of rampant antislavery intolerance, a slight dash of common-sense, with any amount of political crotchets and crudities, treasonable denunciations of the Union, which Wendell Phillips wished to send to the devil, and frothy ravings against the religious institutions of the country."

Boston Daily Mail, May, 1853:

"NEW ENGLAND ANTISLAVERY CONVENTION.—There seems no present or prospective amelioration of the insanity with which this society is so unhappily afflicted, and which has rendered a class of men and women really efficient as good citizens, and at one time presenting an organization commanding at least some support, to the unenviable position of buffoons to

amuse the thoughtless and to excite the pity and compassion of sensible men. The 'New England Antislavery Society,' so far as influence indicates progress, is rapidly retrograding, and in a few years will number very few members outside of the insane asylums."

Editorial in *Boston Bee*, May 26, 1853:

"Who and what are the men who make up the Abolition party? We are sorry to say, for the good reputation of New England, that they are for the most part an irresponsible, shiftless, belligerent, and dangerous sort of men. We refer to the leaders. Take Garrison, the filibuster, who is a fair specimen of one of its two wings, Parker Pillsbury, the blasphemer, being a sample of the other. Do they weigh a feather in the community, outside of their fanatical hobbyism? Garrison long ago became an alien in this community. His words are listened to with the same ear, and are given as much or as little heed to, as the ravings of a confirmed maniac, which they so much resemble. . . .

"It is men of this stamp who form the Abolition party of New England—insane destructionists at home, destructively insane abroad. It is such men who meet at the Melodeon, year after year, as to-day, to concoct new schemes of moral villany, hatch up new ways of sedition, and then strew them over New England and such other Northern States as it is safe and profitable to visit. . . . What has Abolitionism done but to make new chains for the slave, and to create new and extreme necessities for the master? What has it done but to injure the slave, and put back his emancipation an indefinite time? What has it accomplished but to throw blocks in the way of progress—to stay the course of real humanity? Nothing. . . . Where is abolition going? Plainly, *to its grave*. But not without gnashings, gaspings, and all manner of deathly struggles. Its proselytes will not easily give up the ghost in death, any more than they have given up phantoms while living. Life is tenacious in everything that is foul and monstrous. It will be so here. But it must come to it. Its doom is fixed. It dwindles yearly. Its numbers to-day are far less than five years ago. Men of sense, who once swelled its ranks, hoping to do some good to the slave, long

ago found the means proposed by Abolitionism as entirely without good effect. They found the men engaged in the cause to be heartless beyond account, and as unprincipled and selfish and mercenary as they were heartless. Hence the party shrunk into a faction, and from a faction into a shadow, till it is now the disgust and disgrace and execration of the wise and decent of every community."

New York Herald (editorial), 1853:

"THE ABOLITION FANATICS OF NEW ENGLAND.

"From the proceedings of the late Abolition Convention, held in Boston, which we published Monday, our readers will have discovered the desperate straits to which the rabid fanatics of the Lloyd Garrison school have been driven. Their platform has been reduced to two planks—hostility to Christianity and the Bible, and all possible assistance, in violation of the laws, to the escape of fugitive slaves.

"But to such rabid excess have these crazy wretches carried their impotent malignity, that they have tabooed John P. Hale, because he was charged with being in favor of the erection of a monument to Henry Clay. They denounce Charles Sumner as being too amiable among the slave-holders of the United States Senate; and they repudiate all those faithless Abolitionists who were weak enough to join in any of the public manifestations of regret for the death of Daniel Webster. More than this, they have determined to strike at the very root of the evil. They have determined to abolish the churches of all denominations, to abolish the Bible, to abolish the principles of Christianity which it inculcates, and to establish a new code of morals and religion, which shall recognize the entire enormities of slavery and the duty of all men and all women of the North to rally to the extermination of it by fire and sword. . . . The convention, a sort of summing up of the various Abolition orgies of the year, stands adjourned for a twelve-month. It is manifest they are doing a losing business. Even in Massachusetts such miserable creatures as have figured for a dozen years past at these Abolition conventicles are beginning to be regarded, at least in the aggregate, as a public nuisance. The deluded victims of Garrison &

Co., who have been supplying their funds from year to year, no doubt suspect at last that it does not pay, at the price, to support such fellows for nothing in exchange but windy, filthy speeches and the most bold-faced hypocrisy and humbug. Let their supplies be stopped altogether, and let them go to some honest calling. We trust that this will be the end of their Abolition trickery and thimblerigging."

New York Independent, January 3, 1856:

"Of the converts to spiritualism, almost all of them were infidels, and some of them, like Garrison, of the most degraded class."

Keene (N. H.) *Sentinel*, March, 1846 (editorial):

"It is well the Garrison, Phillips, Foster, and Abby Kelly fanatics can have but little or no influence by promulgating the abominable doctrines that the American Church must be destroyed and the Union dissolved! It has been the doctrine of the *Liberator* until the last year, that slavery in the South would be destroyed by the influence of the free States. . . . Where is the philosophy so much boasted of before in this movement? They seem willing that slavery shall exist now and in all coming time at the South, if the free States can only be a nation by themselves. This movement shows a heartlessness to us unsurpassed by no pro-slavery party in the free States. Indeed, we know of no such party."

Lockport Daily Courier, January, 1846 (editorial):

"It cannot be denied that the horrors of slavery have been vastly increased, and the area of its domains immeasurably extended, through the systematic and ill-advised efforts of Northern Abolitionists.

"The South, aroused by the efforts of the North to wrest from them the system of slavery, planned and carried through the scheme of annexation. For this extension of slavery we believe the North is wholly responsible. It was a slave project, planned and consummated because of the belligerent attitude of the North towards the domestic institutions of the South; and the North need hope for no better success in the future, so long as the

same course is pursued towards the South. We are not pleading for slavery. We hate the entire system as thoroughly and cordially as any man living; and hence we are inclined to denounce what experience has taught is calculated to retard the progress of emancipation, though the opposite may be the original intention. Taunt the slave-holder, and the stripes of the slave will pay for it; but tell him that the Northern farmer, with far less land and capital, with a quarter of the labor, makes twice as much money every five years as the planter and slave-holder, and he will listen to you. Publish these facts among the people and a popular feeling will be aroused, before which slavery must wither and perish."

Haverhill (Mass.) *Gazette*, January, 1846 (editorial):

"Abolition takes the same course. Reasonable men have long been aware of the evils of slavery; its inconsistency with our highest pretensions to being the friends of liberty, and its total disregard of the natural rights of man. A new impulse was greatly needed to impress these truths more forcibly upon the national ear, and had a few such men as Channing and C. M. Clay arisen, without the *ultraists*, who had the folly to suppose that they were about to break the chains of three million of bondmen by noise and clamor, declamation and denunciation, there is no telling what immense good might have been accomplished. But when the lead of the movement fell into the hands of a few men, for whose insane self-sufficiency all the millions of slaves left after the liberation of a few by colonization was not enough to operate upon—and who spent more breath in denouncing all who did not confide in their omnipotence and assist in blowing their bellows, than in argument against slavery—and the tragic, comical farce was ended by using up the political power of the party to assist the slave-holders in extending the 'area of slavery' over half a continent."

New York Christian Inquirer, May, 1857 (editorial):

"The Kansas excitement took the wind out of their sails, by doing their business better than they could, and the Supreme

Court has finished them. Little seems left of a set of admirable orators, unsurpassed debaters, armed at all points—magnificently unscrupulous, sublimely impudent, gloriously extravagant men used to making grand, exciting speeches once a week, year in and year out—always expected to stun the audience, and always fulfilling the expectations—but now out of business—and practising as amateurs at their old calling. As the soap-boiler, on quitting the firm, reserved the right to come in on 'melting days,' so the antislavery gladiators claim the privilege of occupying their old place on anniversary week. And really it would seriously detract from the charms and even the uses of that occasion, if this extraordinary class of public speakers were to disappear. Practice makes perfect, and we have never had a school in which all the excellencies and all the defects—all that should be copied and all that should be shunned in popular eloquence, have been so perfectly ripened. The windflowers and the sunflowers—never the poppies—of rhetoric have all bloomed in utmost perfection on the Abolition rod. Argument and sophistry, sense and madness, principles and personalities, piety and profanity, noble aspirations and grovelling blasphemy, all have found their aptest tongues on their platforms."

From the *Eastern* (Me.) *Argus*, 1852 (editorial):

"As to the Abolitionists and the Abolition philanthropy, the latter is a cheat and the former are a set of miserable hypocrites. There is not an honest man among them.... The true Abolitionists are the descendants of the Tories of the Revolution and are themselves always found on the side of their country's enemies. They are a treacherous, hypocritical, ungenerous, and uncharitable set of fanatics, deserving only the contempt of their neighbors, and unworthy the good opinion of all who value the peace and prosperity of their country. We do not in the least misrepresent their character. How unjust, is it not, to hold the entire North responsible for the ravings and buffoonery exhibited by a few fools, who are better fitted for the mad-house than they are to enjoy the privileges of sensible citizens."

Boston Times, August, 1854 (editorial):

"STABILITY OF THE UNION.—Mr. Garrison is such an ass as to believe that the dissolution of the Union would prove beneficial to

the slaves of the South; and so he fires away at the Union with all his might and strength—and with just about as much effect as King Canute's commands had on the advancing tide. His labors have ceased to excite any feelings whatever. Neither indignation, nor wonder, nor laughter is born of them. Men take them as they take any other nuisance that is unavoidable under the conditions of existence; as they take hot weather, the prevalence of cholera, short crops, or any other similar visitation. This has been their conduct for years past, and the best effects have followed from it. Had they acted differently—and had Mr. Garrison's longings for persecution and martyrdom been gratified—had his office been torn down, his press destroyed and his person maltreated—had scoundrel judges, as beneath Jeffries in principle as above him in meanness, been allowed to twist and pervert the law and cause timid jurymen to convict him against both law and justice, half the population of the free States would long since have become abolitionized, and the Union, perhaps, have been in much danger. But these things have not been done. Mr. Garrison has been allowed to roar and rave and madden round the land, and to curse the Union and burn copies of the Constitution as much and as often as it has suited him to do so, without interference from any quarter; and what has resulted from all his sayings and doings? Is the Union less strong, less beloved, less dear to the people than it was when he commenced his labors? By no means. Is the Constitution less respected because the same gentleman has on several occasions served it as Queen Mary served poor John Rogers, in spite of claims to mercy founded on a fruitful wife and a dozen children? Not at all. Mr. Garrison has been reduced to utter insignificance because people have had the sense not to convert him into a hero, a martyr, and a saint, the usual process by which gentlemen of his class arrive at the honors of canonization."

Horace Greeley, in "The Great American Conflict," vol. i., page 117, confirms the preceding views as follows:

"There was a large and steadily increasing class who, though decidedly antislavery, refused either to withhold their votes or to throw them away on candidates whose election was impos-

sible, but persisted in voting at nearly every election, so as to effect good and prevent evil to the extent of their power. . . .

"Thousands, whose consciences and hearts would naturally have drawn them to the side of humanity and justice, were repelled by vociferous representations that to do so would identify them with the 'disunion' of Wendell Phillips, the 'radicalism' of Henry C. Wright, and the 'infidelity' of Pillsbury, Parker, and Garrison."

Denounced in the bitterest terms by all the leading journals in the country, "detested, shunn'd by saint an' sinner," these Garrison disunionists did nothing but harm during the entire period of their spiteful work. They greatly increased the burdens of the slaves, and hindered the expression of anti-slavery sentiment in the North. Next to a State prison uniform, politicians dreaded "the taint of Garrisonism." Hated everywhere in the North as much as in the South, they had no following but of cranks and monomaniacs like themselves.

More humiliating, however, than all the criticisms of others are their own confessions that all their work and worry of more than a quarter of a century were an absolute failure. Here is the confession of Wendell Phillips, made twenty-seven years after the founding of the *Liberator*.

Evening Traveller, May 28, 1857:

"Report of the N. E. A. A. S. Convention in Boston.—Wendell Phillips declared the Tract Society an organization not worthy the support of antislavery men. . . . Mr. Phillips said that Henry Ward Beecher, Cheever, and the Republican Party were most dangerous to the Abolition cause, which was pitted against the Government, the pulpit, and the institutions which held men in bondage, body and soul. So far as government was concerned, the Abolition cause up to this time has been a

failure. Slavery has put down its foot and kept it there, and led you on, year after year, from victory to victory. . . . One by one the institutions of the country have gone over to the slave power—the Missionary Society, the Tract Society, the 'South Side Adamses'—and we are left alone."

William Lloyd Garrison said, in the R. I. A. A. S. Convention, May 2, 1856 (see *Liberator*, May 2, 1856):

"There is no hope for Kansas; for what can be done against the Government? The real antislavery strength of the North is comparatively weak. The Government has little to fear in this quarter."

Numerous other confessions by the same authors, and of like character, could be furnished from the files of the *Liberator*, but the most graphic and conclusive of all is that of Theodore Parker, already recorded in a former chapter. In intellectual power, in breadth of view, and in logical argument, Mr. Parker had no rival among the radical Abolitionists.

During all this quarter of a century of futile Abolition effort, slavery had steadily advanced, without effective opposition. The Northern States were waiting for some method of decisive action against the great evil that would not endanger the Constitution and the Union. They were loyal to the Government and hostile to Garrison's methods. To unite these States in active, earnest, and effective opposition to slavery was a work far beyond the power of the Garrisonites.

They had united the North against themselves—never against slavery. By denouncing all that the

people cherished, they became what the people hated. To sow the wind and reap the whirlwind was their pleasing occupation. "To be a good Garrisonian," said Mr. Greeley, "a man must be mobbed twice a year—once in New York, and once in Boston." To prove themselves worthy of their name, they seemed to make great efforts to secure this distinction. Sometimes they succeeded. To-day the same class of men would attain their object much more readily. We know now the cost and the value of the Union, and might not listen so quietly as we did before the Civil War to insulting demands for its dissolution.

CHAPTER X.

THE PROGRESS OF THE CRUSADE.

Having in the last four chapters done simple justice, both to the helping and hindering agencies in making Kansas free, I return to the history of our progress in the Crusade, and of our continued success, soon to culminate in the full attainment of our objects—freedom victorious and slavery vanquished.

Returning from Buffalo by way of New York City, I organized there an Emigrant Aid Company consisting of the following corporators and others:

Charles King, Benjamin F. Butler, William C. Russell, Jonathan J. Coddington, Rensselaer N. Havens, Cyrus Curtis, Samuel Leeds, Jr., Charles W. Elliot, and Fanning C. Tucker, of New York; and John Hooker, Stephen W. Kellogg, John Boyd, William H. Russell, Charles L. English, Timothy Dwight, Charles B. Lines, Julius Pratt, and Charles Ives, of Connecticut.

R. N. Havens was chosen actuary.

As the New York Legislature was not in session, a charter for this company was procured from the Legislature of Connecticut. Having perfected this organization, I returned to Massachusetts to raise the second colony. Though this was three times

as large as the first, it was gathered with much less effort. It left Boston in August, and in September joined the first colony in Lawrence, now settled in their rude homes.

"The second band of emigrants (sixty-six in number) for Kansas left Boston on Tuesday afternoon, and were joined at different places by other parties, so that at Albany the company numbered one hundred and fifty or more. Previous to starting from the city, the emigrants assembled in the Lincoln Street depot, and sang the song by Whittier, beginning:

"'We cross the prairies, as of old
The Pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the Free.'

"They also sang the original hymn, beginning:

"'From Eastern hill and valley,
From Ocean's distant shore,
We come with hearts rejoicing,
And on by thousands pour.
'Tis Freedom calls us hither,
For Freedom's sake we roam;
'Mid Western wilds, in Freedom's cause,
We'll make our happy home.'"

There was an immense gathering at the station, who gave the emigrants cheer upon cheer as they began their Western pilgrimage.

Two of the company's agents—Charles Robinson and Samuel C. Pomeroy—had charge of this colony during its long Westward journey. All the way from Boston to St. Louis they received most enthusiastic ovations, proving beyond question the intense interest of the Northern people in this grand crusade for freedom. This is well shown by the following editorial in the *Albany Evening Journal* of August 30th, written by Thurlow Weed:

"The second Kansas party from Massachusetts (with twenty-five from New York) reached this city last night about eleven o'clock. They were three hundred strong.

"New England, which has given millions of her sons and daughters to the great West, never sent out a more sturdy set of men, nor one having a more holy mission. They will place their mark upon the political, intellectual, and social character of Kansas. Involuntary servitude can find no resting-place where such men rule. And that they and others like them will rule Kansas is becoming every day more and more apparent.... It was very gratifying to witness the interest felt by a large number of our citizens on the arrival of these three hundred freemen. A meeting had been called early in the evening to make arrangements for their reception, and a large crowd remained till half-past eleven o'clock to bid them welcome.

"The interview was deeply interesting and impressive. The *purpose* of their mission, and the gratifying enthusiasm with which they have entered upon it, could not fail to awaken emotions which found expression in befitting congratulations. The meeting—held in the large parlors of the Delavan House—was continued till after midnight. We have seldom witnessed a more interesting reunion, or one better calculated to awaken the zeal of the patriot. There was real sublimity in the spectacle presented by these three hundred men, leaving their old New England homes for the far West, in order to rescue a vast Territory from the sin and curse of slavery. Never was there a more holy crusade, or one pregnant with more glorious results. All honor to the noble men who have given their hands and their hearts to the noble work."

This article also proves how powerful an aid in saving Kansas was the Northern press, of which I shall soon have more to say. It was widely quoted and had much influence. It created faith, inspired courage, and stimulated action.

Editorials similar in patriotic zeal to Mr. Weed's were published in all the cities and large towns through which our colonies passed. All ovations

given by crowds of patriots everywhere on the route were faithfully recorded. During the Kansas crusade volumes of such stirring narrations and appeals were made by the patriotic press. As space will not allow me to quote them here, Mr. Weed's must be taken as a representative of all.

Let us here observe the progress in our work already made, and the new agencies enlisted to assist in carrying it forward to victory.

There was great enthusiasm everywhere aroused by the simple fact that two colonies had already gone to the disputed Territory. People were now everywhere convinced that the method of this company was to be action against slavery, and not resolution-making—to be work, and not talk. The great mass of the Northern patriots had been waiting for many years for some practical demonstration of this kind. Our company was conservative and law-abiding. We contemplated no violence, unless to repel violence. We were all for the Union and the Constitution. Standing upon such impregnable ground, the patriots of all parties began to combine in our support. They were ready for action. For thirty-five years a few politicians had been firing off resolutions against the extension of slavery, while a sentimental cabal had also fired off their resolutions against its existence. These paper pellets produced no more effect upon the castellated bastions of the "Black Power" than cannon-wads, without shot, would have had upon an adamantine fortress. Here was something quite unlike pictures of auction-blocks and manacles. Here was some-

thing quite unlike raving appeals in antislavery bazaars, and sickly resolutions against the Union, the clergy, and the churches.

These pioneers had nothing to say about "the iniquity of slavery," or the "sin of its extension"; but they had determined, without any words or resolutions, to show their purpose by their action. With grim defiance in their hearts, they went to make their own bodies a barrier against any further domination of the slave power. Where in history can be found the record of moral grandeur surpassing this? Where any to equal it? The records of the human race furnish no such examples of principle or patriotism. All other migrations were as inferior to this as men are inferior to angels.

But it was not alone what our brave colonies had done in thus giving all they had and all they were to freedom, but also their power, by their letters to their friends in their old homes, to extend the influence of this great movement. Fortunately, nearly all these colonists were ready writers. Many of them were liberally educated. No sooner had they constructed their rude cabins than their letters began to be forwarded to the East. In these every incident of pioneer life was faithfully pictured from day to day; the great natural advantages of the country forcibly presented, and their own determination to see Kansas a free State and slavery circumscribed, written down with such evident will and vigor that whoever read was at once inspired with zeal. But the result of these letters, "thick

as leaves in Vallombrosa," was something infinitely better than zeal; it was action. If one letter was sent to a town, copies of it were made and every citizen had a chance to read it. Young and spirited men volunteered to go and share with their brave comrades the duties and the dangers of this new way of fighting slavery. For three or four months my own voice had been the only one urging this action. Now at least two hundred pens, all in awful earnest, reinforced my arguments. But this number of coworkers was to go on increasing with great and greater rapidity, as it did to the very end of the great conflict.

Here is one incident to show how these letters united all parties in the North in the cause of free Kansas. In the spring of 1855 I went to speak in a little town in New Hampshire. Arriving at the hotel two or three hours before the time of the evening meeting, I left my satchel at the house, but did not put down my name, as I wished to go about the village and observe without being observed. The post-office was in the village store. Letters were displayed in the window so that the addresses could be read in the street. I observed there a letter postmarked with a pen, "Lawrence, K. T." The people going by soon discovered it and gave a boy a few cents to go and bring the man to whom it was addressed. Meanwhile the waiting number was increasing. Soon came the owner of the letter and opened it. The clamor was, "Read it aloud." This he did; but when he had finished, others had come who had not heard the first part

of it. It was read in this way the second, third, and fourth time. Then one of the young men requested and obtained a copy for the county paper. The result was that the letter of my helper in Lawrence was probably read by almost every one in that county. Who can ever tell the influence of that single letter? But already we had, so early in the movement, two hundred such letter-writers in Lawrence. That was already a power; but what a force would twenty thousand such writers be, when within a few months they would begin to wield their pens, and, if need be, their swords also, for free Kansas!

In the evening we had the church full of people to listen to my appeals for pioneers. The letter, four times read at the store, was again read at the meeting. After the meeting, a dozen or more went with me to the hotel and stayed three hours to talk about the prospects of "the battle-ground of freedom." Several young men went from that town to Springfield, Massachusetts, to join the next colony. In our conversation at the hotel I asked the gathering about me, What are your politics? Are you Whigs, Democrats, or Free-soilers? "We have no such party feelings now; but we are all for Kansas a free State. That is our party, and the fight in Kansas for freedom is our fight." This grand crusade in this way obliterated the old party lines and made in a short time the Republican party, and also made that party the controlling power of the nation.

To some of my readers the above claim may seem

an unwarrantable assumption. It has not yet been recognized by our historians. A careful study, however, of the events in this crusade and conflict will find it sustained by abundant proof.

But another important agency had now come to the rescue of freedom—the press of the free States, secular and religious, and of all political parties. From the beginning of the movement we had the aid of the *Boston Daily Advertiser* and the *Christian Register*. Each of these papers was always waiting for something from the ready pen of Edward Everett Hale. He used their columns often, and always for the promotion of freedom in Kansas. Samuel Bowles—the ablest journalist in New England—Thurlow Weed in the *Albany Evening Journal*, Horace Greeley (as shown in the preceding pages), and William Cullen Bryant sustained the movement of organized emigration with great energy and eloquence. But these are examples only. The thousands of journals, all through the free States, were almost without exception active and powerful agencies in making Kansas free. It would be difficult to over-estimate their power. The clergy and the churches were, as I have shown, faithful and efficient allies in the great cause, but certainly not more important than the press.

In the first place, the press gave to the country the Plan of Freedom, as presented in the charter of the Emigrant Aid Company. Next it reported all action taken under the charter and the plan of operations. Then the fact that a colony was being raised. Then the fact that the first colony had act-

ually gone—with full accounts of all the ovations along the journey. Not only did the press report all my speeches made in the cities, and furnish strong editorials sustaining the methods of the company, but it published everywhere the very numerous letters of our pioneers in Kansas. While my voice might reach a few hundred, or at most a few thousand, in a day, the voice of the press reached millions. The leading journals soon had their correspondents in Kansas, and there was hardly an issue of any paper during the contest that did not give its readers the latest news about the great conflict between the two antagonistic civilizations. This faithful and patriotic work of our Northern journals was a powerful, if not an indispensable, agency in determining the result of the controversy.

After our first two colonies had settled in Lawrence, and the facts and all the incidents of their journey and location had been made known by the press to all the people of the North, the tide of migration to that disputed land was rapidly increased. Kansas Leagues and Kansas Aid Committees became numerous in nearly all of the Northern States.

In many places contributions were made to facilitate this movement. One of the most effective of these committees was the New York Kansas Aid Committee of Albany, N.Y. To show the energy and activity of this organization, I here quote from a letter of Judge Seth B. Cole, recently received:

"In the fall of 1854 I was elected to the Legislature from my native county—Steuben. After January 1, 1855, I was in Albany.

I heard you deliver three addresses in that city on Kansas, and knew the deep interest awakened by them. In April, 1855, a mass meeting was held in Albany, at which William H. Seward presided, to consider the Kansas question. It directed the appointment of a committee by the chairman of the meeting, to be called the Kansas Aid Committee. There were eight members of that committee. I was one. Hon. William Barnes was secretary and custodian of the records. He was most faithful and efficient.

"After the adjournment of the Legislature I continued in Albany some time, and at the request of the Kansas Aid Committee travelled and made appeals to the people in different parts of the State, and organized local societies to aid the Kansas cause and to influence emigration to Kansas. As a result, I afterwards learned that some forty-two thousand dollars were received by the State committee at Albany, and all expended to aid emigration to Kansas. My services were gratuitous."

The president of this committee was Hon. Bradford R. Wood; and after him Hon. Henry H. Van Dyck; treasurer, Hon. Chauncey P. Williams; secretary, Hon. William Barnes.

The entire amount collected and disbursed seems to have been nearly one hundred thousand dollars. No Kansas committee was more effective.

The following letters to Hon. William Barnes, secretary, show how I regarded this organization in 1856:

"ASTOR HOUSE, N. Y. CITY, *March* 4, 1856.

"*Mr. Barnes:*

"DEAR SIR,—I am now about to leave this place and solicit subscriptions to the stock of the Emigrant Aid Company in the interior cities. I shall speak in Brattleboro next Monday evening and then go westward.

"Can the people of Albany be induced to do something to send peaceful colonies to Kansas, well armed? If you think they can, I should like to address them some evening next week.

"Truly yours,

"ELI THAYER."

"WORCESTER, *July* 26, 1856.

"*Mr. Barnes:*

"DEAR SIR,—I send you by mail one of the books prepared for school district solicitors. Worcester County has six hundred districts, and employs the same number of men and women soliciting aid for Kansas.

"By the same plan Massachusetts would employ six thousand solicitors, all at work for the cause and without pay. One or two days each would suffice to do the work. You will see, therefore, that the plan combines economy, despatch, and efficiency.

"We do not rely on large subscriptions, but upon the dimes and dollars of the million.

"We do not wait for meetings. We will encourage them, but cannot afford the time to make them a part of the plan.

"Almost every one is ready to do something without a lecture, and that something we want now.

* * * * * * *

"I send you an application from a young man in Amherst College for a chance to work in your State. I refer the whole subject to your State board.

"Very truly yours,

'ELI THAYER.

"P. S.—The solicitor books are prepared by the county committees and sent to the town agent whom they appoint. The town agent appoints the solicitor in each district of his town, and gives him or her a book. I think it best to make ladies the solicitors, as they can accomplish more for Kansas than the men.

"E. T."

"WORCESTER, *August* 1, 1856.

"*Mr. Barnes:*

"DEAR SIR,— . . . You have the plan which I proposed to apply. Improve it if you can, but allow no delay. You must have an assistant secretary at once, and I hope you will procure a good man who will relieve you at least from the labor of writing, and perhaps of dictating details.

"I need say nothing to you of the importance of carrying this cause to every hearth-stone in the free States. I am happy in the conviction that you appreciate the cause of Kansas in its fullest extent, and therefore I propose to leave New York to you and your excellent committee. My time will now be given

to the States which have not yet any State committees; first in New England and the West, and afterwards Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

"We hope to have State committees in New England in each State, in ten days, and then without delay a perfect organization.

"If your committee has power to add to its members, I think you will do well to add one man from the shire town of each county, retaining your present quorum.

"This will facilitate the organizing of counties.

"Tell the Republicans this is the way to elect Fremont, and all the clubs must work for us.

"Truly yours,

"ELI THAYER."

Among the most efficient Kansas Leagues was the one in Worcester, Massachusetts, of which Alexander H. Bullock was president, and William T. Merrifield, vice-president. The following is an extract from Mr. Merrifield's reminiscences, published in the *Worcester Spy*, in 1887:

"The recent discussion of the Kansas emigration question of thirty years ago has brought to light an interesting reminiscence related by Mr. Wm. T. Merrifield. In an interview with that gentleman yesterday, he stated to a *Spy* representative that while travelling through the South in January, 1856, he stopped at the leading hotel in Montgomery, Ala., and the day he arrived there General Buford made a speech in the Legislature, in which he said he would pledge himself to the amount of half his fortune for the raising of a company to go to Kansas and drive out the free-State settlers and establish slavery in that Territory. This statement Mr. Merrifield got from members of the Legislature stopping at the hotel who had heard Buford's speech. Before he left, General Buford had raised half of all the recruits he wanted to march into Kansas and drive out the free-State men and force slavery there. Mr. Merrifield came home immediately, fully impressed with the belief that we ought to protect our men from this section and send men enough there to counteract the designs of the pro-slavery raiders. He was thoroughly

convinced, from what he had seen, that we could and ought to do it. Having in his mind the suggestion of steps to be taken, the next morning, after he arrived home, the first man he met on the street was Mr. Eli Thayer, on the steps of the old post-office building, the Central Exchange. He then stated to Mr. Thayer what was being done by General Buford, and told him he thought it was a perfectly plain duty to send men enough to Kansas to protect the free-State men there and frustrate Buford's designs, but that it would be necessary to raise money to pay expenses, furnish food and equipments. At that moment it was arranged between him and Mr. Thayer to take the necessary steps to have the thing done, and Mr. Thayer started right off to Boston and came back the same day and reported to him the result of his mission, that funds could be obtained in Boston for the purpose of sending men to Kansas. A meeting was immediately called, to be held in Worcester, which took place Saturday evening, Feb. 9, 1856, at the City Hall, in response to the call, asking 'the friends of freedom and free institutions to assemble and take such action as might be deemed advisable to strengthen the hearts and hands of those who are upholding the cause of freedom in Kansas.' This was the first public meeting for aid for Kansas held in this city. Hon. P. Emory Aldrich presided, and the late Harrison Bliss was secretary. After a speech from Gen. S. C. Pomeroy, Mr. Thayer spoke, and the result, according to the published report of the meeting, was that 'before the audience left the hall twenty-three rifles, equivalent to the sum of $575, were subscribed for,' by different gentlemen, Mr. Thayer having proposed to 'pay for ten Sharp's rifles at $25 each, on condition that during the coming week other citizens of Worcester would subscribe enough to make up the number to one hundred.' A committee of three was then appointed to solicit subscriptions for the requisite number."

One hundred and sixty-five men were raised to oppose Buford; each with a Sharp's rifle and a plenty of ammunition. All were put in charge of Dr. Calvin Cutter. At two subsequent meetings more than fifteen thousand dollars were subscribed in aid of the Kansas crusade.

Another very powerful Kansas League is described as follows in the *New York Tribune*, August 31, 1854:

KANSAS EMIGRATION MOVEMENT.

"We have received the proceedings of a large and highly respectable meeting representing different portions of Ohio, held at Oberlin, August 21st, favorable to the encouragement of emigration to Kansas. The following officers were chosen for the coming year: President—Prof. J. H. Fairchild; Vice-Presidents—B. Prentiss, of Medina; Ralph Plumb, Trumbull; the Hon. P. Bliss, Lorain; the Hon. Joseph R. Swan, Franklin; Lyman Hall, Portage; Uri Seeley, Lake; the Hon. R. P. Spalding, Cuyahoga; F. D. Purrish, Erie. Corresponding Secretary—John A. Reed, of Oberlin. Treasurer—H. B. Spellman, of Cleveland. Executive Committee—Prof. J. H. Fairchild, of Oberlin; John A. Reed, do.; H. B. Spellman, of Cleveland; Rev. J. A. Thorne, do.; Hon. N. S. Townsend, of Avon; Hon. R. C. Hurd, Mount Vernon; W. P. Harris, of Oberlin; O. B. Ryder, do. Principal—E. H. Fairchild, do.; Prof. E. H. Peck, do.; Prof. T. B. Hudson, do.

"The object of the association is to collect and disseminate through the papers and otherwise, as far as possible, such information as is needed with regard to the Territory of Kansas; its climate, advantages, &c.; the best route for companies emigrating there; to co-operate with other emigration enterprises; to send agents into the various counties of the State, to awaken an interest in emigration and to organize emigrant companies; to raise a fund by the first of March next to be appropriated in aiding emigration, and in contributing to the comfort and prosperity of the emigrant after his arrival in Kansas."

There were several hundred of the different kinds of societies, leagues, committees, and companies in the free States. Their purposes were generally like those of the Oberlin company, above given. The Boston company was the only one which made large investments in Kansas for the benefit of the

emigrants. The others collected and used funds to aid emigrants in their outfits and journey. Each had an office (usually the office of a young lawyer who acted as secretary). They each had the *Herald of Freedom*, published, edited, and owned by G. W. Brown, Lawrence, Kansas. This very valuable paper was full of information desired by the emigrant, both in relation to the physical advantages of the Territory and the progress of the grand conflict within her borders.

They also had Edward Everett Hale's "Kansas and Nebraska," an invaluable hand-book for emigrants. In addition to these sources of information they soon had letters from their colonists in Kansas, which they published in the local papers. By all these and many other means, the zeal in the Kansas cause was not only kept alive but constantly increased to the very close of the controversy. There was hardly any portion of the free States that was not reached by some one of these numerous agencies.

At one of my addresses in the Assembly chamber at Albany, the venerable Eliphalet Nott, President of Union College, was on the platform, having come from Schenectady to attend the meeting. After my address Dr. Nott said that he wished to have a talk with me, and would stay overnight at the Delavan House for that purpose. I assured him that the interview would give me great pleasure, for while I was a student in Brown University I had often heard Dr. Wayland speak in the most complimentary way of his "intellectual father, Dr. Nott."

We accordingly went to the hotel and conversed till after midnight. I had before been questioned very minutely upon the methods of the Kansas campaign and the prospects of success, but never before with such analyzing scrutiny and such profound sagacity. One of his numerous inquiries was rather a surprise to me—not because I had not considered the subject—but because he was the only man who ever made a like inquiry. The question was this: "I wish you would tell me, Mr. Thayer, just what kind of men are of most service in this Kansas movement. I ask this question because I wish to either verify or prove false an opinion I have long entertained and have often expressed to my boys. Are the best men, in this case, the ones who have said most, or said least, about slavery?" "The men," said I, "who say little or nothing. They show the greatest impatience, and even disgust, when they hear a ranting resolution-maker berating slavery. They seem to think that every Northern man understands the evils of slavery without being informed of them. At all events, they have long ago passed the time of talking—if they ever did talk—and have decided to act, now that they have a chance of acting effectively. These men intend to never see another slave State in this Union. If they say anything at all, they say, 'We have too many such now, and always shall have, so long as there are any at all. Slavery must go. If it harms the negro it destroys white men. It is bad economy and bad policy every way.'" While I was speaking the countenance of the patriarch was illumined

as if by a joyful appreciation of what he was hearing. Then he said: "That is just what I always tell my boys. Restrain your feelings until they can impel you to right action. If you can do nothing, feel as little as possible; for feeling in such cases only debilitates. Now you prove my teaching true in practice, and my opinion is verified in a most satisfactory way."

Dr. Nott at this time (spring of 1855) was considerably over eighty years of age, having graduated at Brown University in 1795, just fifty years earlier than myself.

A few weeks before this interview I had been speaking in the State of Maine. Charles H. Branscomb, the conductor of our colonies, having a few weeks' leisure, was sent by the Boston company to arrange for the meetings. He was of great assistance in this way, and also of much use in the meetings, by giving a graphic account of the condition of affairs in Kansas, where he had been several times, and was well able to speak of the charms of the country and its advantages as a home. He also answered numerous inquiries of the young men who were proposing to join our colonies. I always found Mr. Branscomb a faithful and efficient assistant.

One evening I addressed a large meeting in Saco, and was advertised to address one in Biddeford, across the river, the next evening. After the meeting in Saco, several young men came to me and said that they had been appointed a committee of

a company intending to go West early in the spring; that they had been thinking of Minnesota, since some of their friends had gone there, but now they were inclining towards Kansas; that they would go over to the Biddeford meeting and then determine whether they would choose Kansas or Minnesota.

After my address in Biddeford these young men came to me and brought a recent issue of the *New York Tribune*. They showed me an editorial of Mr. Greeley's, in which he said Kansas would be a slave State. This, they said, had settled the question and they were going to Minnesota.

Thereupon I wrote a very severe letter to Mr. Greeley, and told him that his silly editorial had cost me one colony in Saco, and possibly a dozen in other places; that this was a great help to slavery and great harm to freedom. Mr. Greeley did not reply to me, but he never again offended in the same way. I have no doubt that this was the honest opinion of the great philanthropist. Mr. Greeley had one weak point. He was evidently deficient in courage. There had been some blood spilled in Kansas already, and he was really frightened into conceding Kansas to slavery. Who that had read those glowing editorials already quoted in a preceding chapter would have believed it possible that his "staying" power would prove so unreliable?

The reader will recall another similar instance occurring some years later. In the early part of the Civil War, almost every issue of the *Tribune*

contained a furious "On-to-Richmond" editorial. After Bull Run, all this fury had evaporated, and Mr. Greeley wrote to President Lincoln that it was best to make peace on any terms.

In any moral controversy there was no limit to Mr. Greeley's persistency and endurance. But when it came to blood, he was apparently unreliable. After all, he was an invaluable aid in the early part of our Kansas work. Through the weekly *Tribune* numerous Kansas Leagues were made in the Middle and Western States. The slight harm he did in 1855 was a hundred times compensated for by his eloquent appeals for the Plan of Freedom in 1854.

The following is from Professor Spring's "Kansas," page 31. He explains concisely and clearly the philosophy and methods of the Emigrant Aid Company, and demonstrates its efficiency.

"The facilities offered by the Boston organization, in addition to the obvious advantages of associated effort, were reduction in cost of transportation, oversight by competent conductors, investments of capital in mills, hotels, and other improvements which would mitigate and abbreviate the hardships of pioneering. Though the design of the organization was frankly avowed, yet anybody, whether in sympathy with its mission or not, might freely avail himself of its advantages. The obligations of emigrants who went to Kansas under its wing were wholly implied and informal. Assuredly it offered no premium for extreme types of antislavery men. On the contrary, a Hunkerish strain of conservatism prevailed among the colonists which naturally provoked criticism. The *Liberator* of June 1, 1855, speaking of the *personnel* of the companies already sent on to Kansas, remarked that 'hardly a single Abolitionist can be found among all who have migrated to that country.... Before they emigrated

they gave little or no countenance to the antislavery cause at home.... If they had no pluck here, what could rationally be expected of them in the immediate presence of the demoniacal spirit of slavery?... To place any reliance on their antislavery zeal or courage is to lean upon a broken staff.'...

"But the work of the Boston organization cannot be adequately exhibited by arithmetical computations. A vital, capital part of it lay in spheres where mathematics are ineffectual—lay in its alighting upon a feasible method, which was copied far and wide, of dealing with a great political emergency, and in the backing of social and monetary prestige that it secured for the unknown pioneers at the front.

"If volume and bitterness of criticism afford any trustworthy standard by which its efficiency may be tested, the Emigrant Aid Company played no subordinate part in the Kansas struggle."

The *Christian Register*, October 14, 1854, has the following:

"The Emigrant Aid Society, even if not seconded by others, is alone competent to determine the social and moral fate of the spacious West, if sustained by the public. Let it be so sustained, and millions yet unborn will hereafter hallow the names of those who dispelled from that region the dark cloud of slavery, and spread the inestimable blessings of freedom, peace, virtue, and pure religion over their vastly extended and prosperous heritage."

The effect of the influx of free-State settlers into Kansas soon began to be manifested. What had at first been viewed by the Missourians with contempt and derision, and by many at the East with indifference, now became to the friends of the South a matter of serious alarm, and aroused the most malignant passions of the Missouri border ruffians. It created a feeling that spread through the entire slave-holding community, and excited an intense opposition towards a scheme which it was

plain to them was to establish an effectual barrier to the extension of slavery, and in time exterminate the institution. The South saw that it was impotent in a struggle of this kind with the North; that the latter, with its resources of wealth and population, and its spirit of enterprise, would inevitably overwhelm them in this contest. All the powers of press and rostrum were brought to bear against the new scheme, and bluster and threats were resorted to in the endeavor to stem the current that was to ingulf them. More desperate methods were applied on the scene of action, but it is not my purpose to give any narration of what took place in Kansas; that has already become a part of national history.

Soon the greatest enthusiasm was excited in the North. Immense crowds gathered along the route of our emigrant companies, and the journeys through New England, and as far west as Chicago, were continued ovations. This spirit was shown even in the domestic circle. "I know people," said R. W. Emerson, "who are making haste to reduce their expenses and pay their debts, not with a view to new accumulations, but in preparation to save and earn for the benefit of Kansas emigrants."

Loud threats of disunion were indulged in; and the Southern papers teemed with abuse of the Emigrant Aid Company and its supporters. Rewards were offered for the head of the author of the Plan.*

* The following notice was posted in Kansas and Missouri:

"$200 Reward. We are authorized by responsible men in this neighborhood to offer the above reward for the apprehension

But there were those among them who, as the movement broadened, contemplated it in a more serious light, and gave evidence of their appreciation of the real character of the crisis. The following editorial from the *Charleston Mercury* well represents the views of this class:

"First. By consent of parties, the present contest in Kansas is made the turning-point in the destinies of slavery and Abolitionism.* If the South triumphs, Abolitionism will be defeated and shorn of its power for all time. If she is defeated, Abolitionism will grow more insolent and aggressive, until the utter ruin of the South is consummated.

"Second. If the South secures Kansas, she will extend slavery into all the territory south of the fortieth parallel of north latitude, to the Rio Grande, and this, of course, will secure for her pent-up institutions of slavery an ample outlet, and restore her power in Congress. If the North secures Kansas, the power of the South in Congress will gradually be diminished, the States of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas, together with the adjacent Territories, will gradually become Abolitionized, and the slave population confined to the States east of the Mississippi will become valueless. All depends upon the action of the present moment."

and safe delivery into the hands of the squatters of Kansas Territory, of one Eli Thayer, a leading and ruling spirit among the Abolitionists of New York and New England. Now, therefore, it behooves all good citizens of Kansas Territory and the State of Missouri to watch the advent of this agent of Abolitionism; to arrest him, and deal with him in such a manner as the enormity of his crimes and iniquities shall seem to merit. Representing *all* the Abolitionists, he consequently bears all their sins; and the blood of Batchelder is upon his head crying aloud for expiation at the hands of the people."

De Bow's Review called the movement "Thayer's Emigration," and the Southern press spoke of the Emigrant Aid Company as "Eli Thayer & Co."

* By Abolitionism the editor intended the whole antislavery element. He had no referenee to Garrisonism.

CHAPTER XI.

KANSAS AND JOHN BROWN.

After the annoying incidents at Saco and Biddeford already chronicled we held meetings in Portland, Bath, Brunswick, and Augusta. In the last place I made the acquaintance of Governor Morrill and of many members of the House and the Senate. My object was to secure their aid in providing for meetings at their homes in many parts of the State. These appointments were made for the autumn of the same year. Senator Muzzy, of Bangor, and Senator Cushing, of Belfast, prepared meetings for those localities, while others arranged for speeches in Thomaston, Camden, Oldtown, Orono, and other places. Having planned in this way the fall campaign of two or three weeks in Maine, we held the Augusta meeting. The audience contained most of the members of the Legislature, and was presided over by a young man, then but little known, James G. Blaine. Mr. Branscomb soon returned to Boston to conduct another colony to Kansas, and I made my journey westward, speaking in New Hampshire, Vermont, and Northern New York.

It would be easy to fill volumes with the incidents and the interviews at all the places where my meetings were held. The feeling about Kansas

was just the same in all localities. There had come to be a resolute determination to sustain the free-State pioneers already in Kansas by such reinforcements of men and such contributions of money and arms as they might need. It was now apparent in every town that the people, without distinction of party, had accepted the policy of action pursued by the Emigrant Aid Company, and that they had no desire to return to the silly work of resolution-making. This company bought a hotel at Kansas City for the accommodation of our emigrants upon their arrival, and were building another and larger one at Lawrence. We had already built several steam-mills for the grinding of grain and the manufacture of lumber. These steam-engines were really the eloquent apostles of freedom.

One day, in 1855, Senator Atchison, with a dozen border ruffians, was at the wharf in Kansas City, when a river-boat approached with one of our engines on the deck. Atchison, turning to those on his right, asked, "What is that on the deck of the steamer?" His companions answered, "Senator, that is a steam-engine and a steam-boiler." Turning to those on his left, he repeated his former question. They repeated the reply before given. "You are all a pack of —— fools; that is a Yankee city going to Kansas, and by ——! in six months it will cast one hundred Abolition votes."

During the summer months I made many speeches in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. In New Haven I made three speeches at different times to secure the raising of the celebrated colony

which in the summer of the next year, under the lead of Hon. C. B. Lines, founded in Kansas the town of Wabaunsee. Professor Silliman, Dr. Woolsey, Dr. Leonard Bacon, and Professor Twining were active workers in support of the Plan of Freedom, and the first of these became a director in the Emigrant Aid Company.

In my Hartford meetings, Dr. Horace Bushnell was active and energetic. He collected over one thousand dollars for our treasury and became one of our directors.

In the autumn I returned to Maine and addressed thousands of people in halls, in churches, and sometimes the lumbermen sitting on logs in the open air. Most of the meetings were densely packed, but these of the lumbermen had "scope and verge enough."

The result of these meetings was a valuable accession to the free-State pioneers.

I then returned to Boston, and had a meeting with the members of our executive committee. Our company had exhausted all its funds, and was in debt. Our worthy treasurer had advanced money up to his fixed limit, $6000, from his own funds. Some of the committee were entirely discouraged, and even ready to abandon the enterprise, on account of the pecuniary straits in which the company was placed. "This work," they said, "is arduous, and from lack of money very wearing and perplexing. Money must be had directly, or the work of saving Kansas discontinued. The most unwise act we ever did was the surrender of the

old charter, which would have furnished ample means on a business basis. This depending on charity is annoying and humiliating."

In reply, I told the committee that it was very pleasing to me to hear from their own lips their confession of error in substituting the charity plan for the old business charter. Had we retained the latter, and made investments in Kansas City which our own work would build up, we could easily have become a very formidable power against slavery, not only in the Territories, but in the States as well. But as the choice had long ago been made, and as we had progressed so far under the false method, we could not now change it; that I was not an "Immediativist"; that the work must be neither suspended nor discontinued, nor even hindered, for the want of money; that I preferred very much to continue gathering colonies, but if necessary I would raise as much money as they were in need of. Accordingly, without delay, I went to New York City on that mission. The narration of the events there, and of my success in raising the needed contributions, will be recorded in the next chapter.

At this point I will introduce an episode pertaining to our friend Amos A. Lawrence.

While I was in Maine, John Brown found his way to Boston and induced Mr. Lawrence to furnish him money to pay his expenses to Kansas.

I first became acquainted with Amos A. Lawrence early in June, 1854, directly after my return from the conference with Mr. Greeley in New

York City. From that time to the end of the Kansas struggle he was treasurer of our company. Like his father, Amos Lawrence, he was distinguished for his practical philanthropy, his sterling integrity, his fearless and conscientious discharge of duty, and his sound and conservative views upon all subjects. He styled himself a "Hunker Whig." He voted for Bell and Everett in 1860, and was as far removed from sympathy with radical Abolitionists as any man in the Union. But in the plan of the Emigrant Aid Company he was happy to find a way of circumventing the purposes of slavery without violating the law, the Constitution, or the Union. He became at once an earnest, fearless, and hopeful worker in the cause of free Kansas. His cheerful courage was always an inspiration to the lovers of our cause, even in its greatest perplexities and dangers. It was easy for almost any one who professed a desire to aid in the work of making Kansas a free State to secure his entire confidence. If this were a weakness, it leaned so decidedly towards right and justice of purpose that no good man can judge him harshly.

But his confidence in men was sometimes abused. There were several instances of this in the course of our struggle, but the most notable one was in the case of John Brown. Mr. Lawrence furnished him the money which enabled him to pay his fare to Kansas late in the year 1855. Subsequently he contributed for his use in the Territory, and for travelling outside of it, many important sums. He also furnished about one thousand dollars to pay a

mortgage on Brown's home at North Elba, N. Y. For one or two years he regarded Brown as an honest man and a useful aid to the free-State cause. At length, however, he learned how his confidence had been abused, and from that time no one ever denounced the Pottawatomie assassin in more vigorous English. The following remarks of Mr. Lawrence were made before the Massachusetts Historical Society, and can be found in their published proceedings for May, 1884.

Mr. Amos A. Lawrence said:

"When Eli Thayer obtained the charter of the New England Emigrant Aid Society, and began to preach up the Kansas crusade, the organization was completed here in Boston; and Dr. Robinson, of Fitchburg, was chosen to be the Territorial agent, Charles H. Branscomb took charge of the emigrant parties, and S. C. Pomeroy was financial agent in Kansas.

"The enthusiasm increased; parties were formed all over the Northern States. The Emigrant Aid Company undertook to give character and direction to the whole. This society was to be loyal to the Government under all circumstances; it was to support the party of law and order, and it was to make Kansas a free State by *bona fide* settlement, if at all. Charles Robinson had the requisite qualities to direct this movement. He had had great experience in the troubles of California. He was cool, judicious, and entirely devoid of fear, and in every respect worthy of the confidence reposed in him by the settlers and the society. He was obliged to submit to great hardship and injustice, chiefly through the imbecility of the United States Government agents. He was imprisoned, his house was burned, and his life was often threatened; yet he never bore arms, nor omitted to do whatever he thought to be his duty. He sternly held the people to their loyalty to the Government, against the arguments and example of the 'higher law' men, who were always armed, who were not real settlers, and who were bent on bringing about a border war, which they hoped would extend to the

older States. The policy of the New England Society, carried out by Robinson and those who acted with him in Kansas, was finally successful and triumphant. David Atchison and his hordes retired from the scene; the few negro slaves who had been carried into the Territory disappeared, and now (1884) the State contains one million one hundred thousand inhabitants, without paupers and without beggars. A whole generation is coming up who do not know the taste of ardent spirits. This has always been a favorite theory and practice of Robinson; and now they have gone beyond him, and have inserted prohibition in the State Constitution, and elected their State officers on that issue.

"But what shall we say of John Brown? His course was the opposite of Robinson's. . . . He was always armed; he was always disloyal to the United States Government and to all government except to what he called the 'higher law.' He was always ready to shed blood, and he always did shed it without remorse; for 'without blood,' as he often said, 'there can be no remission.' . . .

"In the night of May 23, 1856, Mr. Doyle and his two sons were taken from their beds at Pottawatomie, and caused to walk one hundred yards from their house, when the father was shot dead by Brown, while the sons were stabbed and hacked to death with straight navy swords in the hands of Brown's sons. Mr. Wilkinson, who was taking care of a sick wife, was obliged to leave her and go with the midnight party, who brutally murdered him, not so far from his wife but that she heard the struggle and the final shot.

"William Sherman was another victim of these midnight assassins, who were not then known, but who are now known perfectly. The evidence is complete. Professor Spring, of the State University of Kansas, is preparing a work upon the early history of that State, which will contain the truth, with all the proofs; so that hereafter there can be no such statements made as have deceived nearly a whole generation.

"It fell to me to give John Brown his first letter to Kansas, introducing him to Governor Robinson, and authorizing him to employ him and to draw on me for his compensation if he could make him useful in the work of the Emigrant Aid Company. But very soon Governor Robinson wrote that he would not em-

ploy him, as he was unreliable, and 'would as soon shoot a United States officer as a border ruffian.'

"When he was a prisoner at Harper's Ferry I wrote to Governor Wise, advising his release, on the ground that he was a monomaniac, and that his execution would make him a martyr. The answer to this letter was very creditable to Governor Wise. . . .

"John Brown had no enemies in New England, but many friends and admirers. He was constantly receiving money from them. They little knew what use he was making of it, for he deceived everybody. If he had succeeded in his design at Harper's Ferry of exciting a servile insurrection, the country would have stood aghast with horror; his would have been anything but a martyr's crown."

John Brown has now very few admirers except the congenial anarchists and Nihilists, who despise all law, and hate all the restraints of government. Mr. Lawrence's estimate of Brown above given has been generally sustained. Abraham Lincoln, in his Cooper Institute speech, said, with his characteristic "charity for all":

"John Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd that the slaves, in all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed. That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts related in history at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than his own execution. Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry were, in their philosophy, the same. The eagerness to cast blame on Old England in the one place and on New England in the other does not disprove the sameness of the two things."

The Chicago Republican convention which nom-

inated Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency in 1860 unanimously resolved that Brown was one of the greatest of criminals.

Thaddeus Stevens said, "Brown ought to be hung for attempting to capture Virginia in the way he did."

Henry Wilson said, "John Brown is a d[redacted]d old fool."

Nicolay and Hay, in the *Century Magazine*, have proved Senator Wilson's estimate of him correct.

When Brown made his invasion of Virginia, and during his trial, conviction, and execution, I was a member of Congress, and had the means of knowing the opinions of other members. There was not one of that body who considered his punishment unjust. A few, however, were of the opinion that it would have been better to have put him in a mad-house for life. This method would have prevented the grotesque efforts of a few of his sympathizers and supporters to parade him before the country as a "martyr."

But these anarchists were ever ready with pen and voice to extol any mental or moral deformity, especially tending towards the ruin of our Government. The owner of a dime museum exults in the possession of physical monstrosities. So the disunionists had a wonderful affection for cranks and monomaniacs. They could see nothing to admire in men like Horace Mann, Salmon P. Chase, and Rev. Dr. Bellows — illustrious examples of high mental and moral attainments. Such men were denounced unsparingly in the columns of the *Lib-*

erator, as also the other great antislavery leaders who favored practical methods. This "despised handful of Abolitionists" were eager to hail the Pottawatomie assassin as "martyr and saint."

John Brown arrived in Kansas nearly two years after the conflict there against slavery began. He was a great injury to the free-State cause, and to the free-State settlers. He said, "I have not come to make Kansas free, but to get a shot at the South." He wished to begin a civil war. He was the pupil of the Garrisonites and afterwards their god. He never had any property in Kansas which might be subject to retaliation and reprisal for his crimes. Skulking about under various disguises and pretences, he left the free-State settlers to suffer for his numerous outrages. At length they compelled him to leave the Territory.

The last instalment of Missouri vengeance for his many murders, raids, and robberies, and for the subsequent thieving invasions of Lane, fell upon Lawrence in the Quantrell raid, and cost her the lives of one hundred and eighty-three of her citizens.

The following extract from a letter written by me to the *New York Sun*, and published in that journal November 27, 1887, gives some details of this "hero's" career.

"It is charity to rank Brown as a monomaniac in the same list with Orsini, Guiteau, Booth, and Freeman. But his admirers do not allow this, for it would ruin him as a 'saint and martyr.' They contend not only that he was sane, but that he was a great moral hero. If we admit his sanity, we must then regard him

either as a felon or a fiend. After he had proved himself a robber, murderer, and traitor, and while almost everybody was denouncing him as such, the Garrison disunionists, under whose tuition he had matured, immediately began his apotheosis. The files of the *Liberator* and the reported eulogies of Wendell Phillips, delivered wherever he could get a hearing, are abundant proof of this fact. Themselves monomaniacs, they were delighted to discover a hero so well adapted to their characters and tastes.

"These are the men responsible for the terrible growth of anarchy in this country. They made a deity of the prince of anarchists, a colossus in crime, compared with whom the men recently executed at Chicago were only pygmies.

"It is no wonder, then, that the anarchists of to-day acknowledge their rightful king, and sing at their nocturnal conventions John Brown songs. This is the most appropriate commentary we have yet had upon the character of Garrison and Phillips, 'martyr and saint.' Their eulogies found echoes in feeble pulpit utterances and occasionally in public lectures. In this way the deadly virus of anarchy infected and poisoned public sentiment.

"But what did John Brown do? In Kansas he dragged from their beds at midnight three men and two boys and hacked them in pieces with two-edged cleavers, in such way that the massacre was reported to be the work of wild Indians. If any butcher in New York City should hack and slash to death his own hogs and steers as John Brown hacked and slashed to death these men and boys in Kansas, he would be arrested and imprisoned without delay. After this Brown slew an unarmed, inoffensive farmer in Missouri. In his murderous raid at Harper's Ferry, the first man he slew was a negro engaged in the discharge of his duty at the freight station there. For some weeks before this raid he had been wandering about in Virginia, trying to enlist negroes in his little rebellion. In one place he professed to be a geologist. In several places he professed to be a Dr. McLain—a specialist in hernia. He examined many slaves for this disease, by consent of masters, to whom he said that negroes were more subject to it than any other class. In a Presbyterian house he was a Presbyterian minister. He remained one day and two nights and examined over forty slaves. He next visited a Baptist family, and there professed to be a Baptist minister.

He had written out a plan of government for the South, which was once in possession of Amos A. Lawrence, of Boston. This plan provided that Brown should be military commander-in-chief in the negro government about to be established.

"To the above should be added the robbing of stores in Kansas, the stealing of horses, the invasion of Missouri, and the stealing of about $4000 worth of oxen, mules, wagons, harness, and such valuable and portable property as he could find. He was a merciless and most unscrupulous jayhawker.

"The above is a faint picture of the 'noble John Brown.' Much more of the same import could be given, but this is enough, except for Anarchists who wish to become unrivalled experts in crime.

"After his midnight murders in Kansas, all the people about Ossawatomie assembled to express their indignation and to take measures to bring the 'fiends' to justice. Here on most friendly terms met the free-State and the slave-State men. In the overshadowing gloom of such terrible crime, all partisan issues were forgotten. The underlying brotherhood of man asserted itself in unity against an enemy of the human race. But what enemy? John Brown, with characteristic lying, denied that he was present at this massacre, or that he had anything to do with it. No fact in history is now better established than the fact that he was father of the crime and the leader of the assassins."

The editorial comments of the *Sun* upon this letter places a proper estimate upon the character of this noted anarchist:

A HISTORICAL VIEW OF JOHN BROWN.

"We publish elsewhere a letter presenting a new view of John Brown, or a view which seems new in these days, though it was taken by many conservative and sensible men of this country at the time of his mad attempt to wage war against slavery on his own account.

"The letter, it must be understood, is not written by one of the old apologists for slavery, but by a man who from first to last was a bitter opponent of slavery, and who was greatly instrumental in bringing about its exclusion from Kansas. As early

as 1854, when Mr Eli Thayer was a Representative in the Massachusetts Legislature from the town of Worcester, the historic centre of the antislavery agitation, he conceived the plan of frustrating the purpose of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise by encouraging and assisting emigration to Kansas from the free States of the North. His scheme was to fill up the Territory with settlers who would vote 'to save Kansas to freedom,' and for years he gave himself up to zealous and self-sacrificing efforts to carry it into successful execution.

"Mr. Thayer therefore sympathized with John Brown in his detestation of slavery and dread of its advancing political power, and yet he classes him with John Most and with the anarchists so justly hanged at Chicago the other day. Instead of having been the 'great moral hero' his admirers of this time would make him, Mr. Thayer, who speaks from intimate personal knowledge of the man and his career in Kansas, describes John Brown as a 'felon or a fiend,' a 'robber, murderer, and traitor,' and gives instances of his conduct in Kansas and in Virginia to justify the truth of the description.

"Abraham Lincoln, in his famous speech at Cooper Institute in February, 1860, a few months before his first nomination for the Presidency, agreed with Mr. Thayer in ranking John Brown with the monomaniacs who resort to assassination for the cure of what seem to them social and political evils. 'Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon, and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry,' said Lincoln, 'were, in their philosophy, the same'; and he further described the Harper's Ferry affair as 'so absurd that the slaves, in all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed.' These words, too, were uttered in the February after the hanging of John Brown at Charlestown, in Virginia, on the 2d of December, 1859, and they expressed a sentiment so general at the North that the great Republican leader felt it necessary to speak them so emphatically.

"At that time the Abolitionists, always a small and a detested body of fanatics, had reached the firm conclusion that their only hope lay in the dissolution of the Union. They were out-and-out disunionists, trampling on the Constitution at their meetings as 'a league with death and a covenant with hell,' and declaring that 'there was no issue of any importance except the dissolution of the Union.' For that reason they did all they could to

put back Mr. Thayer's efforts to make Kansas a free State. They wanted to see slavery so far extended that the North would be forced into disunionism as a measure of revenge and self-protection, and the war of secession would be started by the North rather than the South. Therefore they were quick to make of John Brown a martyr to their cause, in the hope of inflaming the hostility between the two parts of the Union. But Lincoln and the Republican party refused to accept their hero, and were consequently even more bitterly assailed than before by the Abolitionists as accessaries and partners in the great 'crime of slavery.'

"These are doubtless the facts of history, and Mr. Thayer does the public a service in calling attention to them at a time when the anarchists are attempting to justify their savagery by pointing to John Brown as a great moral hero, whose memory is revered by his countrymen and honored by the whole world."

Another statement in regard to Brown's career had been made by me in a letter to the *Boston Herald*, published August 22, 1887, correcting a passage in Nicolay and Hay's "Life of Lincoln." The following is an extract from this letter:

"These writers say, on page 517: 'In association, habit, language, and conduct, he was clean, but coarse; honest, but rude.'

"Two circumstances, however, indicate that he was practising a deception upon the committees and the public. He entered into a contract with a blacksmith in Collinsville, Ct., to manufacture for him one thousand pikes of a certain pattern, to be completed in ninety days, and paid five hundred and fifty dollars on the contract. There is no record that he mentioned this matter to any committee. His proposed Kansas minute-men were only one hundred in number, and the pikes could not be for them. His explanation to the blacksmith that they would be a good weapon of defence for Kansas settlers, was clearly a subterfuge. These pikes, ordered about March 23, 1857, were without doubt intended for his Virginia invasion, and, in fact, the identical lot, finished after long delay, under the same contract, were shipped to him in September, 1859, and were actually

used in his Harper's Ferry attempt. The other circumstance is that, about the time of his contract for the pikes, he also, without the knowledge of committees or friends, engaged a worthless adventurer named Forbes to go West and give military instructions to his company, a measure neither useful nor practicable for Kansas' defence. These two acts may be taken as the first preparation for Harper's Ferry.

"These are constructive lies. But John Brown made use of many others in his preparation for the Virginia raid, which were in no way doubtful or equivocal.

"1. He came to me in Worcester to solicit a contribution of arms for the defence of some Kansas settlements which he said he knew were soon to be attacked by parties already organized in Missouri for that purpose. Not doubting his word, I gave him all the arms I had, in value about five hundred dollars.

"2. Under the same false pretence he secured another contribution from Ethan Allen & Co., manufacturers of arms in this city. These arms also were never taken to Kansas, but were captured at Harper's Ferry.

"3. Before his attack upon the United States arsenal he spent several weeks in Virginia. He pretended to be a mineralogist, and went about with a hammer breaking off the corners of rocks. Under the pretext of seeking for copper he found opportunities for trying to enlist slaves in his little rebellion. The representative in Congress from the Harper's Ferry district gave me these facts.

"4. Under the same false pretence of aiding the settlers in Kansas he procured funds from several New York merchants, one of whom says that he gave him fifty dollars.

"5. In 1858 he made a raid into Missouri, murdered Mr. Crews, a peaceable old farmer, and took away eleven slaves, with about four thousand dollars' worth of oxen, mules, wagons, harness, saddles, and other property. As soon as he had got outside of the State, he sent agents in all directions to solicit aid to get the eleven negroes to Canada. He was from December to April getting them through. This slow movement was doubtless for the purpose of prolonging as much as possible the time for his agents to procure funds. His plunder and his collections went, probably, to increase his Harper's Ferry fund.

"6. He often asserted that in the above raid he liberated sev-

eral slaves without bloodshed and without the use of weapons. It is proved that Mr. Crews was killed in that raid.

"7. He repeatedly said that he was not present at the Pottawatomie midnight massacre. It is proved that he was present as commander of the assassins."

Every great and long-continued agitation of the public mind is certain to develop "cranks." They are the foam upon the billows of public excitement. They do not make the billows, but are made by them. A very young child might think these white-caps were really the storm-king, raising and controlling the billows, guiding and governing the storm. Such frothy interlopers had reached Kansas near the close of the struggle. They did little but harm.

Professor Spring, in his "Kansas," has assigned them their proper place in history.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SINEWS OF WAR.

In accordance with the plan set forth in the preceding chapter, I went directly to New York City to raise the money necessary to enable the company to continue its Kansas work. Upon my arrival I found Simeon Draper and George W. Blunt, and stated to them the need of immediate help in money. "How much?" said Mr. Blunt. I replied, "Somewhere from thirty to fifty thousand dollars; and without much delay." "How do you propose to raise such a sum?" "If you will get me a chance to speak to twenty or thirty antislavery men of means, this evening, I will then show you how the money is to be secured. Can you get these men together?" After Mr. Blunt and Mr. Draper had conferred for a few minutes, Mr. Blunt said that he would invite a meeting in the parlors of his house at eight o'clock. I was pleased with the offer, and promised to be promptly at the place. Mr. Blunt faithfully kept his word, for I found in his parlors, at the time appointed, about thirty prominent and wealthy business and professional men. Without any delay I began to set forth the immediate wants of our company; to give a history of the work already done; to assure my hearers that

nothing was now needed to secure our success but a few thousand dollars more for immediate use; that New York merchants were more interested pecuniarily in this result than were any other people in the Union; that if they would compare their sales of goods to Kentucky with those to Ohio, they would need no further argument to show that their money interest was all on the side of making Kansas free; that now it was also to be decided whether we should have freedom or slavery as our national policy; that the time for resolutions and for the friendly discussion of this matter with slave-holders had gone by, and that slavery, having been organized by Calhoun in 1833 for offensive and defensive action, was now proud and strong, from its continued victories, and hostile to all discussion and to any compromises; that the whole question was a question of strength and endurance, and that the party conquering in this struggle would ever after govern the country. I had come to ask them whether it should be of freedom or of slavery. I assured them of the conservative views of our company, and that under all provocations we should sustain the Government and adhere to the Constitution and the Union; and that under this protection there was room enough for all our work and for the triumphant success of the free-State cause.

After my address, which occupied a little more than an hour, a young man, tall and thin, arose and began to speak as follows: "Ever since my Castle Garden speech, you know I have been called a

Hunker Whig. Now, what reason you had to suppose that such a man would care whether slavery were extended or restricted I do not know. Therefore I do not know your reasons for inviting me to attend this meeting. But you did invite me, and I have come. I am glad that I am here, and I thank you for calling me. I have heard many speeches, on many occasions, upon the slavery question; but never until now have I listened to any practical elucidation of the subject. Like thousands of others, I have been waiting for an opportunity to contend successfully against slavery without violating the laws or sacrificing the Constitution and the Union. Such an opportunity is now presented. I rejoice in it, and shall embrace it. Now, though I am called a 'Hunker Whig,' and though I am poor, for I am not worth four thousand dollars, I joyfully give my check to the Emigrant Aid Company for one thousand dollars."

This speaker was William M. Evarts. Only a few years ago he sent word to me that though he seemed at the time to lose his balance, when he gave a quarter of all he was worth to the Boston Aid Company, he was very willing to admit that it was the best investment he ever made.

With such a beginning, success was already certain. Other subscribers to the fund speedily followed Mr. Evarts. I addressed five meetings in New York City and as many in Brooklyn. Most of these were called by written invitations to gentlemen who were able to contribute to the fund without inconvenience. Henry H. Elliott, George

W. Blunt, David Dudley Field, Thaddeus Hyatt, Horace B. Claflin, Rollin Sanford, Bowen & MacNamee, Cyrus Curtis, Moses H. Grinnell, E. D. Morgan, D. Randolph Martin, Marshall O. Roberts, and many others, subscribed liberally. H. B. Claflin and Rollin Sanford at first put down their names for one thousand dollars each; but they attended all the meetings, and, without further solicitation, each of them raised his subscription to six thousand dollars. Several others followed this example. Bowen & MacNamee at first subscribed five hundred dollars, but they raised this sum to three thousand.

Charles H. Branscomb, of whom I have already spoken, accompanied me in this campaign for money. He was of great service in preparing meetings by carrying invitations, and by speaking of the condition of things in Kansas to such as were desirous of hearing the words of an eye-witness.

One Friday evening we went over to the meeting in the vestry of Henry Ward Beecher's church. Before the meeting was opened Mr. Beecher observed me in the congregation. We had met several times in the railway-cars, when each was on his lecturing tour, and had often conversed about the Kansas fight. As soon as he saw me he came over to my seat and said, "Now, Thayer, as soon as this meeting is opened I want you to tell us something about the chances for Kansas; will you speak?" I told him that it was my business to speak wherever there was anybody to hear. "How long shall I speak?" "Say fifteen minutes." He

then opened the meeting and called upon me. I began my address and went on as rapidly as possible for the time allotted, and began to draw my remarks to a close. "Go on, go on!" came from all parts of the vestry. I looked to Mr. Beecher inquiringly. "Go on for an hour," he answered. Accordingly, I continued my address to the end of the meeting. After this, Mr. Beecher invited me to occupy the entire time of the next Friday evening vestry meeting, which I did. In consequence of these addresses Mr. Beecher's congregation made contributions of several thousand dollars to the company.

One day I received at the Astor House, where I was staying, an invitation to dine at the house of a Mr. Jackson, on Bond Street. I accepted the invitation and went, though I had never met my host. The invitation, however, was explained when I met there my friend, Rev. Dr. Horace Bushnell. Under my plate at dinner I found Mr. Jackson's check for the Emigrant Aid Company, for one thousand dollars. This, too, was Dr. Bushnell's work, for Mr. Jackson had attended none of my meetings.

William Cullen Bryant was also a contributor to the amount (I think) of one thousand dollars. The columns of his paper, the *New York Evening Post*, were ever open to any appeal for the interests of free Kansas. Mr. Bryant was also ready, with his own pen, to advance by his logical and eloquent arguments the cause of patriotism and good government, for which our pioneers were there contending. I often called upon him in his sanctum,

and usually suggested something to be written about. I was never disappointed, for a suitable editorial was certain to follow the interview.

One day I went to Mr. Bryant and said: "Since the *Evening Post* is a paper of the highest financial authority, it seems to me, Mr. Bryant, that you can very much aid our Kansas cause by attacking the credit of Missouri. Why, more than the Yanktons and Sioux, is she worthy of being trusted?" Mr. Bryant expressed great interest in this view of the case, and said that he would attend to it. It was my purpose to make the holders of Missouri bonds active in preventing the invasions and outrages of the border ruffians. The very next day Mr. Bryant began his editorials. The following is an extract from his second article on Missouri bonds. Many others followed.

New York Evening Post, February 14, 1856. Editorial headed "Missouri Credit," after stating that "immediately after the invasion of Kansas the Missouri stocks began to decline," continues:

"It will be for the better part of the people of Missouri to consider whither this new code of political morals is carrying them. They have a large debt on their hands, either already contracted, or authorized and in the way of being contracted—the absolute debt of their State amounting to sixteen millions of dollars, and the bonds for which the State is security, on account of the south-west branch of the Pacific Railroad, amounting to three millions more. There are nearly four millions and a half of bonds yet to be issued, and the State throws them into the market with this serious drawback on its credit—its six per cent. stocks down to 86, while those of Ohio, with almost the same amount of debt on her hands, stand at 110.

"Let there be another inroad made into Kansas on a like er-

rand with that which took that direction last November, and the credit of Missouri would sink yet lower. Capitalists would then as soon think of taking the bonds issued by authority of a council of the Digger Indians, or buying stock issued by the chief of the Pawnees. Men who have no regard for the rights of others cannot be expected to pay their debts.

"The city of St. Louis contains a class of merchants of the highest character for probity. They, no doubt, hold the reputation of their State dear, and they certainly have a great stake in its prosperity. They must feel acutely the disgrace which the course of a certain class of their population has brought upon the State—they must be sensible to what extent the material interests of Missouri are dependent upon the good opinion of mankind, and how deeply the interests of their own flourishing city are involved in those of the State. It will be for them, and for those who, like them, are aware of the mischief, to devise the remedy."

The effect of these editorials of Mr. Bryant was to cause a rapid decline in Missouri bonds.

By such writing, a great commotion was made, not only among the bond-holders, who immediately demanded that the outrages against Kansas should be discontinued without delay, but also among the merchants of St. Louis, many of whom were men of high character, who keenly felt the disgrace of their State. There is no doubt of the good effect of these articles in restraining the lawlessness of the Missouri border. They seem also to have had a powerful political effect in St. Louis, for at the next election, to the surprise of everybody, that city elected, for the first time, a mayor friendly to free Kansas.

While still engaged in my pecuniary work, I went one Sunday to attend the meeting of Rev. Mr. Frothingham. As soon as the reverend gentleman had ascended the platform and observed

me, he came to my seat and said, "Mr. Thayer, I want my people to hear all about Kansas, and I want you to occupy every minute of the time allowed for my sermon, which will be all ready for use one week later." I thankfully accepted the invitation, and occupied his entire hour. This was a help to our cause of about one thousand dollars.

A dozen years after the events above recorded, Mr. H. B. Claflin said that the six thousand dollars which he paid to the Emigrant Aid Company in 1856 had been several times repaid by the excess of profit on goods sold to merchants in Kansas and Kansas City over what it would have been if slavery had prevailed in that State.

Since writing the above I have found the following circular of invitation, which furnishes the names of several other contributors. To these should be added the names of G. P. Putnam and Parke Godwin:

"New York, *January* 17, 1856.

"Sir,—You are respectfully invited to attend a meeting of gentlemen to be held at the small chapel of the University, on Monday, the 21st inst., at 7.30 P.M., for the purpose of considering the interests involved in the settlement of Kansas.

"Mr. Thayer, of Massachusetts, will present a full statement of the present condition of the settlements in that Territory, and of the movements hitherto made and now in progress for promoting emigration under the auspices of the 'Emigrant Aid Society'; and the claim of the cause upon the countenance and aid of our citizens will be advocated by that gentleman and others. Yours respectfully,

"Cyrus Curtis,	Benjamin W. Bonney,
Moses H. Grinnell,	Le Grand Lockwood,
George W. Blunt,	John Bigelow,
Simeon Draper,	William M. Evarts."

Frederic Law Olmstead contributed, and sent to the free-State men in Kansas, a brass howitzer, which was of great service, and is still preserved as a memento of the great conflict.

Early in April, having succeeded in raising sufficient money to answer the purposes of the Emigrant Aid Company, I returned to my proper work of raising colonies.

I had scarcely entered upon this work when affairs in Kansas had assumed a new phase. Charles Robinson, G. W. Brown, and several other leaders of the free-State party had been arrested for treason and imprisoned. The Missouri River was soon closed to our emigrant parties and some of these who had nearly reached Kansas were robbed of their property and sent back down the river. These were heroic measures on the part of the pro-slavery party.

The arrest and imprisonment of Robinson and the others were resorted to for the purpose of provoking the free-State men to fight the United States troops who were guarding the prisoners, in order to secure their rescue. The makers of this plot very wisely left James H. Lane, John Brown, and James Montgomery free, so that they might undertake this work against the Government.

Lane immediately set about preparing for the "rescue." He went even to Ohio to raise men for that purpose. In August he returned to Lawrence alone, after having promised to raise fifty thousand men in Ohio and Indiana. He still cherished, however, the purpose of "rescue," and sent

a letter to Robinson offering to set him free by force. Robinson very plainly gave him to understand that he had better mind his own business. On the 10th of September the prisoners were liberated, and the danger of attempted rescue had passed away.

There was also a raid upon Lawrence in May. The company's large stone hotel was burned, printing-presses destroyed, and much private property ruined or stolen. This infamous work was done under the direction of a court to destroy certain buildings as nuisances.

Taken all in all, the recent action of the slave-holders was proof to every sound mind that their era of utter desperation had arrived. I could then plainly foresee the end of the conflict. So, happy as the Apostle Paul when he came in sight of the three taverns, like him I "thanked God and took courage." So far in this contest, the slave-holders had accomplished nothing whatever by fair means. Disheartened and disgusted, they tried the imprisonment of our leaders, hoping that the free-State men, under such a provocation, might become rebels and fight the Government. The wisdom and coolness of Robinson prevented this action and made the whole plan an utter failure. The raid upon Lawrence and the blockade of the Missouri River, added to the false imprisonment of our leading men, aroused the indignation of the North to such an extent that the freedom of Kansas was secure. From this time no further effort was required to raise colonies. They raised themselves.

Matters had now taken such form in Kansas and the North that the slave power could not escape defeat.

It was necessary only to give to the free States such machinery as would enable them to execute their will, and the fate of slavery would be sealed and freedom made national.

To secure and put into operation such machinery, I began to write letters to the Kansas leagues that there must be a convention of delegates to elect a National Kansas Committee, whose location should be Chicago, and that another suitable committee should be chosen to organize the free States for supplying the first committee with money, arms, clothing, transportation, and all that the reasonable wants of the pioneers, upon their journey or in the Territory, might require. The convention was also to provide a passage through Iowa and Nebraska for several colonies now wearily marching over that long and tiresome route.

This plan was assented to, and the time and place of the convention set for June 20th, at Cleveland. Hon. William Barnes was to attend to the matter if any change was found necessary as to time or place. It was desired that Governor Reeder, who had escaped from Kansas, should preside at this convention. But, unfortunately, he could not get there until the 26th of June. Of this Mr. Barnes informed me. It was impossible for me to attend the convention at that time, and I therefore replied to him as follows:

"WORCESTER, *June* 20, 1856.

"*Mr. Barnes:*

"DEAR SIR,—Much to my regret, I shall be unable to attend the convention at Cleveland on the 26th, as I had previously engaged to speak in Philadelphia on the evening of the 27th. I will submit to you a few suggestions:

"The general outfitting depot should be in Chicago.

"There should also be in that place the treasurer, two secretaries, and a majority or a quorum of the board of directors.

"There should be an assistant treasurer and secretary and board of directors in each free State, and subsidiary organizations of a similar kind in every city and important town.

"These town and city organizations should report to the State organization, and the State organization should report to the Central.

"The State or assistant treasurer should forward all moneys not appropriated in outfits for the emigrants from their individual States to the general treasury at Chicago, to be applied under the direction of the board, to assist emigrants in such ways as they may deem expedient.

"The president of the Central Committee should be able to survey the whole field, and to perfect the organization of each State. Either he or some one man must have the general direction in the movement, and be the controlling worker in giving it form and efficiency.

"Pardon me for these suggestions, and accept my thanks for your faithful service in the cause of free Kansas. I feel a personal gratitude to you for these labors.

"Very truly yours,

"ELI THAYER.

"WM. BARNES, Esq."

The convention met at Cleveland on the 26th, but took no action whatever, except to adjourn to meet in Buffalo on the 9th of July. One or two speeches, however, were made.

At Buffalo, on the 9th of July, there was a convention of delegates, representing Kansas leagues and committees in thirteen Northern States. The

writer was made chairman of the committee to prepare the work of the convention. He reported just such a national Kansas committee as he had been describing in his letters, and located them, as he had before proposed, at Chicago. The convention adopted the report unanimously. They also sent Dr. Howe, of Boston, and Thaddeus Hyatt, of New York City, to take charge of our emigrants, then in Iowa, and provide for their safe conduct into Kansas. To this work these gentlemen devoted themselves. They found the emigrants in the greatest poverty and disorder, while J. H. Lane was assuming to direct their movements. They gave Lane very definite orders to go away and keep away. They put Col. S. W. Eldridge in charge, and he brought all the colonies safely into the Territory.

The further work of the Buffalo Convention is told in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of July 17, 1856, in the leading editorial, as follows:

THE SYSTEMATIC RELIEF OF KANSAS.

"The arrangements made last week at the National Convention at Buffalo, of the friends of Kansas, for giving system to the general desire of the Northern States to assist the free men of Kansas, are such as promise an immediate concentration of action and seem to us to evince great practical wisdom.

"For this purpose the convention named the National Executive Committee, having a quorum of its members in the city of Chicago, to act as a disbursing committee of the funds collected in the different parts of the country for the benefit of Kansas settlers and emigrants.

* * * * * * *

"For the object, equally important, of securing a universal contribution to these funds, the convention adopted a measure

which also has our decided approval. On motion of Mr. Gerrit Smith, Mr. Eli Thayer, of this State, was appointed a committee of one to take charge of the systematic organization of all the States friendly to Kansas, for her relief. We believe the convention was wise in making this committee consist of one person. We believe it particularly fortunate in appointing Mr. Thayer to a duty which he can discharge so efficiently. The service which he has rendered to Kansas, first, by creating the Emigrant Aid Company, in the face of great depression, and next, by constant public and private appeals in behalf of Kansas, is well understood in New England and New York City. The work now intrusted to him is very clearly the work for one man and not for many.

"We are glad to be able to announce this morning that Mr. Thayer has already entered upon his work, with the promptness which the occasion demands.

"He has perfected a plan which may carry the cause of Kansas to every hearth-stone in the free States.

"It proposes that there shall be formed two classes of Kansas committees; a State Committee for every State, and a County Committee for every county. Some of these committees already exist. Each County Committee should then appoint a town agent for every town in the county, with authority to appoint a solicitor (male or female) for every school district in the town. These district solicitors apply to every man, woman, and child, if possible, in their respective districts; and make returns of their collections, with a duplicate of the subscription books, to the town agent. By applying to this agent, any subscriber can ascertain whether his subscription has been duly forwarded. The town agents make returns to the treasurer of the County Committee, who makes regular returns to the treasurer of the State Committee, who in turn remits to the National Committee.

"In this way every cent contributed can be traced from the hand of the donor to the treasury of the General Committee, without any charge or expenses. And by this plan the General Committee deals only with State Committees, these with County Committees, and these only with school districts, and they only with individuals.

"If this plan were faithfully carried out, we should have three or four millions of subscribers as the result, with scarcely any expense for agencies.

"We publish these details, *in extenso*, thus, in the hope that they may be at once copied through the country, and that the different arrangements may be put at once in motion. We hope to announce soon that a regular series of remittances to the Chicago National Committee has begun.

"We observed in our report of the Buffalo Convention that a member of that convention expressed the feeling that Mr. Thayer's connection with the Emigrant Aid Company would make his appointment unpopular with the country. We confess our surprise at this suggestion. We believe that the unanimous feeling of the free States of this Union towards that company, of which he is the founder, is one of profound gratitude for its efforts at a time when every one beside was in despair as to the fate of Kansas.

"The convention at Buffalo would never have existed had not that company acted when it did. There would have been no free-State party in Kansas without it. There may be many men there from the free States who did not go under its auspices, but there are very few who did not go influenced by the assurance that the company gave, that Kansas should be free.

"We can understand why President Pierce and Dr. Stringfellow denounce it; but we do not see why the unpopularity of its founder *with them* should act in the Buffalo Convention.

"Mr. Thayer defended the company with spirit before the convention, and the convention showed no fear of its unpopularity. He referred to the enthusiastic praise it has received abroad and at home. Styled by the London *Times* 'The greatest American movement of this age,' it has been welcomed here by our ablest statesmen, scholars, and business men.

"After his speech no sort of opposition was made to his appointment; and the convention commissioned him to the work we have described."

The following are the names of the National Kansas Committee elected by the Buffalo Convention: G. R. Russell, Boston, Mass.; W. H. Russell, Connecticut; Thaddeus Hyatt, New York; N. B. Craig, Pennsylvania; John W. Wright, Indiana; Abraham Lincoln, Lincoln, Ill.; E. B. Ward, Mich-

igan; Hon. J. H. Tweedy, Wisconsin; Gov. W. H. Hoppin, Rhode Island; W. H. Stanley, Ohio; F. A. Hunt, Missouri; S. W. Eldridge, Kansas Territory; and G. W. Dole, J. D. Webster, H. B. Hurd, J. Y. Scammon, and J. N. Fernold of Chicago, Ill.; J. H. Reeder was subsequently added to the committee.

The National Kansas Committee was organized without delay by the election of Thaddeus Hyatt of New York City as president. Mr. Hyatt devoted himself to his work with great fidelity, courage, and persistency. He several times visited Kansas to learn the needs of the settlers, and supervised the disbursement of hundreds of thousands of dollars.

In reply to my inquiries concerning his Kansas work, and its pecuniary cost to himself, I have just received a letter from which the following is an extract:

"In one way and another, counting contingent losses, the cost to me of making Kansas a free State was one hundred thousand dollars. I travelled in behalf of her people a hundred thousand miles on the railways of the country at my own expense. This includes the famine time, and covers the period from 1855 to 1861.

"From the moment when the magnetism of your eloquence and logic drew from my finger a five hundred dollar ring for the Emigrant Aid Company, I was committed to the cause. If I obtained prominence in the work it was not of my own seeking. I was shoved forward by events as one is moved onward in a crowd. I hope you will do full justice to my friends Samuel C. Pomeroy and W. F. M. Arny. . . . There were none more devoted and none more true."

Long after the freedom of Kansas had become secure, Mr. Hyatt and his friends Arny and Pome-

roy, together with the National Kansas Committee, continued their work, furnishing such supplies as the pioneers most needed. In the year of the famine, with their facilities for reaching the Northern people, and with their disbursing agents in Kansas, their services were of the greatest importance. A full record of their work can be seen in the publications of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, vols. i. and ii., 1875–1880.

The plan for organizing the free States in support of this committee was soon perfected and put into practice. Little subscription-books were prepared for school districts, and contributions of dimes or dollars were solicited, mainly by ladies. In Worcester County, Massachusetts, six hundred of these books were distributed — one for every school district. In the State, six thousand were in use. The funds, with duplicates of all subscription-books, were sent to the town committee, who reported to the county committee, who reported to the State committee; the latter making their returns to the National Kansas Committee at Chicago. There was no chance for the loss of even one penny. The Fremont clubs were also supplied with these little books, and by all these agencies almost every hearth-stone in the free States was reached.

Now came on, in all its vehemence, the Presidential campaign. Governor Geary was sent to Kansas. He told the Missourians that one more raid into Kansas would defeat Buchanan. The Missouri bond-holders and the St. Louis merchants re-

inforced the arguments of Governor Geary. The border ruffians were "between the devil and the deep sea." They knew something at this time of the dismal straits of Poe's unfortunate,

> "Whom unmerciful disaster
> Followed fast and followed faster."

The Missouri River was opened, and our emigrants resumed the old and much more convenient route. The black and direful clouds which for three years had hung over the border of Kansas, charged with ruin and death, began to break, and to show fitful gleams of welcome light through their ragged openings.

But everywhere the campaign orators in favor of Fremont had one grand and comprehensive argument. "Elect Fremont or lose Kansas and be forever slaves."

I was nominated for Congress in the Worcester district and elected. Called before the nominating convention to make a speech, upon accepting the nomination, I frankly said that I should never assent to this nonsense everywhere promulgated by the Fremont orators; that his defeat would be chains and slavery for Kansas; that this was the people's fight against slavery, and not the fight of the politicians, that nearly twice as many men were determined Kansas should be free as would cast their votes for Fremont; that Kansas would be free whether Fremont, Buchanan, or the devil was President.

Had Fremont been elected, the politicians would

have claimed, to this day, that the salvation of Kansas was by that event secured. People generally had been educated to hope for nothing on the slavery question that did not come to them through the wisdom of Congressional or Executive action. The ordinance of 1787, which was inoperative in practice, and null and void in law, has always been paraded by politicians as the great cause of freedom in the five powerful States made from the north-west territory. It is natural for most men, especially for politicians, to magnify their office. The North-west was made free because her hardy pioneers desired her to be free. She would never have been any less free if the boasted ordinance of 1787 had never been heard of.

At that time there was no division of opinion upon the slavery question. North and South alike regarded the institution as a calamity and a curse. The leaders of Southern thought denounced it in more determined and vigorous language than was heard from the lips of Northern speakers, or read from the columns of Northern journals. All this harmony of feeling between the different sections rendered impossible any serious antagonism on this subject in the North-west.

But when the Kansas struggle came, the old harmony had entirely disappeared. While for thirty years after the ordinance of 1787 it had remained unchanged, it began to be disturbed by the admission of Missouri as a slave State, and thirteen years later was utterly destroyed by the Southern policy of Calhoun. Having attempted in vain to com-

bine the South against the tariff, he succeeded in securing a perfect union in favor of slavery. The same institution whose existence had so long been deplored by the South as a burden and a curse which all should labor to remove, began then to be applauded as ordained of God, sustained by the Bible, and well adapted to secure the highest development of both the white and negro races. The slave-holders, who formerly were willing to reason upon methods for its extinction, had now become haughty, arrogant, and imperious. Nothing now was acceptable to them but the unrestricted extension of their cherished institution. Any man who in the slightest degree opposed their views was denounced as an Abolitionist. Such was the tone and temper of the slave-holders when they demanded and secured the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. All talk, all reasoning, all entreaty, on the part of the North was treated with scorn and contempt. The time had therefore fully come to humble this insolent and usurping power. The Crusade of Freedom did this work and drove slavery through desperation to death. But this was a work in which, fortunately, politicians had no hand and exercised no power. The people made this fight for freedom and carried it through to triumphant success.

In all my journeys I never met members of Congress, or any prominent politicians, who had made speeches to raise colonies for Kansas. Trusting only in the Congressional restriction of slavery, they doubtless believed, as they had often said, that

Kansas was lost. The strong arms of free labor rescued her and proved their power to protect all the rights and interests of free men. The motto of Miles Standish was here well applied: "If you want a thing well done, do it yourself." The Kansas work was done by the people for themselves, and history will say that it was "well done."

With the steadiness of a planet moving in its orbit, this great crusade advanced for three years constantly and persistently towards its final triumph. It united all the free States in a common purpose to destroy slavery. In its management there was no retreating, no hesitation, no uncertainty. Under the shield of the Constitution we pressed forward to certain victory. I have called this decisive movement "a crusade." Very likely historians will call it "a campaign." But under whatever name, its majestic power, moral grandeur, and far-reaching results have strongly marked a new epoch in our history.

At the end of 1856 I left the Kansas work and began the colonizing of Virginia. We had triumphed in the great conflict with such exuberance of strength that we had in Kansas four free-State men to every one of our opponents; while our numbers were rapidly increasing, and theirs constantly diminishing. Buford and his Southern soldiers had returned to Alabama. Other Southern battalions had retired to the sunny fields of their homes. Atchison and Stringfellow had given up the fight. It now remained for the free-State men of Kansas to restore order, and to build upon the

ruins of the past that unrivalled commonwealth whose proud history has made her the pivotal State of our destiny, as she is of our geography. One of my last speeches on Kansas was made in Cambridge, Mass., December 17, 1856.

The following call, thought necessary because there was but two days' notice of the meeting, serves still further to show what kind of men sustained the Emigrant Aid Company:

"HON. ELI THAYER, of Worcester, will address the ladies and gentlemen of Cambridge in Lyceum Hall, on MONDAY EVENING next, 17th inst., at 7 1-2 o'clock, on the question now at issue in Kansas, and will propose a method for its solution, to which he earnestly invites the attention and co-operation not only of the friends of Freedom and the Union, but of civilization and Christianity.

"JACOB H. BATES, WM. L. WHITNEY,
S. T. FARWELL, C. C. FELTON,
JOEL PARKER, J. E. WORCESTER,
H. W. LONGFELLOW, EMORY WASHBURN,
CHARLES BECK, GEORGE LIVERMORE,
A. WILLARD, A. H. RAMSAY,
EPHRAIM BUTTRICK, JOHN G. PALFREY,
F. L. CHAPMAN, WM. A. SAUNDERS,
WM. T. RICHARDSON, J. A. ALBRO,
C. FRANCIS, WM. NEWELL,
JOHN PRYOR, F. D. HUNTINGTON,
JOS. T. BUCKINGHAM, CHARLES R. METCALF,
JOSIAH COOLIDGE."

The following editorial is from the *Cambridge Chronicle* of December 22, 1856:

"After Professor Hedrick's remarks, it was a relief when the broad, calm brow of Mr. Thayer loomed up before us. We were requested not to report his speech, and shall therefore only speak of it in general terms. It was more even than we hoped for,

and whether considered as a speech or as an argument, was a powerful effort. Such a deep penetration into and entire grasp of his subject, such aptness of expression, and illustration we seldom find. The views he took have not been presented by the press or public speakers—they are new to the people; but unquestionably sound, as they are hopeful to freedom; and as he presented them we cannot doubt that they were convincing to his audience.

"For ourselves, we never had any sympathy with those who fear the downfall of freedom. We have supposed that, as heretofore, our liberties might yet 'cost treasure and cost blood,' but we could not doubt the triumph of freedom over slavery, and of every right over every wrong. Mr. Thayer shows clearly enough that freedom will not only triumph, but that it will triumph with an insignificant cost of blood, and an actual augmentation of treasure. He proposes to make a profitable business of colonizing Kansas; and indicates the way in which even the old slave-holding States may be also colonized by freedom; and slavery—that unsubstantial thing, which we have always tried to keep at a distance from us, and shrunk from as from a monster with demon teeth and claws—retire and vanish before it as mists of night before the morning sun.

"It might be supposed, he observed in commencing, that the Presidential election had decided the question of the freedom of Kansas. No more, said he, than the last eclipse of the moon decided it. The freedom of the country was involved in the freedom of Kansas. Would freedom, which is a true thing, fail, and slavery, which is a false thing, succeed? Never. Slavery was inherently weak; it could not compete with freedom. It was on this idea that the New England Emigrant Aid Society was formed and chartered. Their policy was to set freedom to compete with slavery, by controlling the tide of emigration ever setting Westward, and organizing its force in Kansas. Formerly freedom went into new Territories as an infant—its forces feeble, few, and scattered. A settler went here and another there, planted themselves in the wilderness, and waited eight, ten, or twenty years for civilization to come up to them. But into the Territory of Kansas freedom was to be sent a full-grown man—its forces organized and concentrated, and its institutions in all the perfection they have attained here. Every colony planted by

the society was provided with a church, a school, and a steam-engine. Slavery could not stand before these things. Wherever the steam-engine went, liberty would prevail. An ordinary, dull man seeing one of those pioneers of freedom going up the Missouri would say, 'There goes a steam-engine, probably so many horse-power, weighs so many tons.' David R. Atchison seeing it, says, 'There goes another d——d Abolition city into Kansas!'

"Why, the steam-engine was a singer and would sing of nothing but freedom. Set it to sawing pine logs into boards, and it would sing at its work day and night, 'Home for the free!—home for the free!' Set it to sawing tough, gnarled oak, and its song would be, 'Never a slave State!—never a slave State!'

"The applause of the audience testified that there was both truth and poetry in the figure.

"Mr. Thayer paid a deserved compliment to our fellow-citizen, J. M. S. Williams, Esq. He was the first man, he said, who gave him any encouragement in Boston. When he was laboring to present his views to the people of that city, and had labored long, seemingly in vain, Mr. Williams came forward and offered $10,000 in aid of the enterprise; and it was through his influence with the business men of Boston that the plan of the Emigrant Aid Society at last got a hearing and met with success."

CHAPTER XIII.

WHAT SAVED KANSAS.

It is the purpose of this chapter to present a summary of the evidence, both of friends and foes, that the Plan of Freedom saved Kansas and overthrew slavery.

Some of the following evidence is recent, and some contemporaneous with the great contest on the prairies; some of it is from hostile, and some from friendly sources. The reader will observe, however, that all agree upon one point—that there was only one obstruction in the way of slavery in Kansas, and that was "the new science of emigration," together with the skill and energy with which this new force was directed and utilized.

Some of these articles are in reply to remarks in the *Century Magazine* by Nicolay and Hay in their Life of Lincoln, in which they disparage the work of the Emigrant Aid Company.

The complete refutation of their views can be found in the recent editorials now quoted, but especially in that of Horace Greeley, written early in the Kansas conflict, and recorded in the *New York Tribune* of September 6, 1854, as follows:

"The Douglas Bill had hardly passed before a crowd of Missouri slave-holders rushed over into Kansas, began staking out

and claiming all the best lands, and held meetings to denounce and threaten all 'Northern Abolitionists' who should venture into that region. There have been several such meetings held in Kansas or in the Missouri villages along her frontier. In every one, the resolves of the slave-holders are enforced by a meaning reference to the bowie-knife and rifle, as the favorite arguments of their caste. Individual settlers from the free States would have been deterred, or intimidated into acquiescence by these demonstrations. It is only by organization and concert that the North has been able to defy them. If Kansas is saved to freedom (as we trust it will be), she will owe her escape to agitation, activity, resolute effort—in short, to those very measures which the *Richmond Whig* condemns and would have us desist from. In fact, for the last half-century we have lost Louisiana, Florida, Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas by PEACE, and saved all we have saved by effort, resistance, and agitation. And now that Cuba, Hayti, Mexico, Dominica, Central America, and the Sandwich Islands are all within the contemplation of the slave power, as subjects of more or less immediate annexation, it behooves us to stand to our arms and let our resolution be distinctly understood. We shall never more have lasting peace until it is settled that no more slave States are to be added to our Union. With that point settled, we shall have peace with our neighbors and peace among ourselves. We shall buy or steal no more territory from the moment it is fixed that all States henceforth added to the Union must come in as free States. We entreat the *Whig*, therefore, to rest assured that we not only love peace as well as the South can, but that we are taking the only way to secure it."

Editorial of the *Worcester Spy* of May 4, 1887, in answer to Nicolay and Hay:

"To those who remember the struggle between the forces of slavery and freedom, the North and the South, for the possession of Kansas, it seems almost superfluous for Mr. Eli Thayer to contradict the assertions of Messrs. Nicolay and Hay, the biographers of Lincoln in the *Century Magazine*, that the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society had but small influence upon the result of that contest, and that 'the North in general trusted to the ordinary

and natural movement of emigration.' Mr. Thayer has shown conclusively that this is a grave error, pardonable, perhaps, in a writer who should refer to the subject incidentally, but inexcusable in one who professes to write authentic history. Mr. Thayer proves, by unimpeachable evidence, that the pro-slavery people, from Missouri, chiefly, were first in possession; that they controlled all the avenues of approach; that they were fully aware of the importance of excluding free-State men and perfectly unscrupulous as to the means of doing it; that immigrants from the free States encountered not only the hardships and privations incidental to settlement in a new country, but also dangers to property and life from the persecutions of hostile neighbors, whose prejudices and passions were inflamed by the press and the influential politicians of the South; that their only protection against these dangers was the support of their neighbors, and therefore organized immigration in colonies was a necessity; that, in fact, the Emigrant Aid Society and its auxiliaries in all the Northern States did aid and direct in the migration of thousands of colonists, and that the organs of Southern and pro-slavery opinion in the press and in Congress, knowing all the facts, and profoundly interested in the issue, attributed the peopling of Kansas by free-State men to the activity—unlawful and pernicious activity they declared it—of the Emigrant Aid Society. All this was universally known, and no one thought of disputing it at the time. What put it into the heads of Lincoln's biographers to pervert history as they have done, it is hard to conjecture. Mr. Thayer's suggestion that one of the important qualifications of a historian is some knowledge of history is severe in its implication of the deficiencies of these historians, but is not undeserved."

Gen. Charles Devens, in his address before the Bunker Hill Monument Association, on the 17th of June, 1887, ably sustains the Emigrant Aid Company as follows:

"If left to the laws of ordinary emigration, the immediate presence on the border of Kansas of a prosperous and powerful slave State like Missouri would have rendered it certain that she would follow the example of her neighbor. With different de-

grees of feeling, yet with substantial unanimity, the North was utterly opposed to the extension of slavery. The passage of such a bill was like throwing down a gauntlet into the arena of civil controversy, which must be lifted or the cause abandoned.

"The most powerful individual agency in meeting the issue thus forced, and in placing Kansas in the column of free States, was the Emigrant Aid Company, formed in Massachussetts, of which Mr. Eli Thayer was the president and originator, and Mr. Lawrence the treasurer.

"Its plan was of a peaceful organized emigration, which should, by the force of the feeling and influence which would accompany it, render it impossible that slavery should enter, or if it entered should ever maintain itself there. It is not only in what this society did, but in what it induced others to do, that the value of its work consisted.

"Mr. Lawrence was by nature, as well as by political education, decidedly conservative in his constitutional views, but he had always ardently opposed the system of slavery. He had felt what at that time weighed much on the minds of many just men in both the great national parties—the difficulty of reconciling his obligations under the Constitution with this opposition. It was because the methods to be employed by the Emigrant Aid Company were strictly constitutional that they commended themselves alike to his judgment and his feeling. It is not my intention to recall the scenes—terrible and bloody, many of them—of that controversy which made of the struggle for Kansas a prelude to the War for the Union. Had that never occurred, it is by no means impossible that by confining slavery within fixed bounds, which would have been ever narrowing, the success in Kansas might have brought about the gradual extinction of slavery."

The following is an extract from a recent letter of Hon. Francis E. Spinner, upon the same subject as the above:

"You, in your fight for the vindication of the truth of history, hold the vantage-ground, for the *facts* are all on your side. Those who were men in 1854, and who kept the run of the politics of the country for the next seven years, know that your Emigrant

Aid Society did more to save Kansas and Nebraska to freedom than all other help and appliances combined. But to those who came after, and to our posterity, it is well that the truth should be restated. The claim that the Garrison Abolitionists abolished slavery is about on a par with that of the ignorant of the Irish, that St. Patrick invented the potato."

The following is an editorial in the *Sun*, May 27, 1887:

THE DISUNIONISTS OF THE NORTH.

"We referred a short time ago to a pamphlet in which Mr. Eli Thayer, of Worcester, Massachusetts, described the part played by organized immigration in the making of Kansas a free State. But it seems that certain of the old Abolitionists, and more particularly Mr. Oliver Johnson, are offended because he has assumed to take any of the credit for that result. They say that it was the Garrison host who did the work, by calling the people to a 'moral fight' against slavery.

"Mr. Thayer thereupon proceeds to give the Abolitionists such a dressing down as they have not received since the days of their prominence. He declares that although 'egotism never yet equalled or approached their own,' they were only marplots in the struggle against slavery; that their real purpose was not the overthrow of slavery, but the destruction of the Union. 'They knew,' says Mr. Thayer, 'if Kansas became a slave State, there would be quite an accession to the disunion element of the North,' and therefore 'their fraternity of mountebanks or monomaniacs' derided the practical efforts of the Emigration Society to direct to Kansas settlers who were on the side of freedom; 'for, as T. W. Higginson said, it would only be another Massachusetts. The original Massachusetts had been tried and found wanting.' 'Really,' continues Mr. Thayer, 'these men had nothing more to do in accomplishing the overthrow of slavery in this country than had the King of the Cannibal Islands.'

"What the Abolitionists were after was the overthrow of the Union because it involved the toleration and protection of slavery; and whatever made slavery more hateful to the people of the North was received by them with rejoicing, for it aggravated the ground of offence against the South and the feeling of dis-

satisfaction with the Union. The further the slave power proceeded in its aggressions the better were they pleased, for the North became the more earnest in its resentment, and the hopes of disunion—of the breaking up of the 'compact with hell and league with death,' as they called the Union—grew stronger in their breasts.

"Mr. Thayer, be it remembered, was always a bitter opponent of slavery, and at great personal and pecuniary sacrifice organized and carried forward the movement for the practical redemption of Kansas from the power of the slave-holders. He lived, too, in Worcester, the great seat of Abolitionism, and was intimately acquainted with the Garrison party and their purposes. For twenty-five years before he started his Emigration Society, when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise became a foregone conclusion, they had been carrying on what Mr. Oliver Johnson calls their 'moral fight' against slavery 'with but a remarkably feeble response from the people, while slavery went on from triumph to triumph, so that it had become stronger in 1854 than it had ever been since the foundation of the Government.'

* * * * * * *

"The Garrison Abolitionists were therefore as uncompromising in their disunionism as the bitterest fire-eaters of the South; and, as Mr. Thayer says, if they had succeeded in their purposes, the result would have been 'the destruction of the Union and the erection of a great slave power.'"

The following is an editorial in the *New England Home Journal* of May 21, 1887:

'BLEEDING KANSAS' DAYS.

"Just now when the story of the battle-fields is being told and retold in literature, not with a view to engender heat, or continue animosity, but to secure accuracy in permanent history, the thorough revival of the days of the early Kansas struggle shares importance with few other features of the time. We have already expressed our satisfaction at the value of the discussion started by Hon. Eli Thayer's reminiscences of his New England Emigrant Aid Society, originally given and recently published in the transactions of the Worcester Society of Antiquity. Entirely of separate origin, but in the same line, comes a little later the reply

of Mr. Thayer to some strictures on his pristine organization which appears in the Hay-Nicolay 'Life of Abraham Lincoln,' in a recent number of the *Century*. The two authors in question probably intended no deliberate unfairness, their reference being both slight and slighting, but it has given Mr. Thayer opportunity for a very full and pungent review of his Emigrant Aid Society of 1856, which first of all appeals stirred the North to a new realization of the encroachments of the slave power, and was the first suggestion of methods in that conflict looking to the resort to arms. It is certain that the Kansas collision in arms, slight as it was in actual result, prepared the minds of that whole generation of men for the event which came later, but following direct sequences, in President Lincoln's call for 75,000 men to subdue the rebellion. This call came to a people whose eyes had already been opened to the possibilities of the struggle, by the declared mission of Sharp's rifles on Kansas soil. If any have doubted that this was the full meaning and lesson of the early Kansas days, recent light cast on the question has been of value."

There is one very important suggestion in the above; that the Kansas contest not only combined the North as a unit against slavery, but gave her that special training which enabled her to subdue secession.

Editorial in the New York *Evening Post*, April 27, 1887:

"Mr. Eli Thayer, the founder of the New England Emigrant Company that played so large a part in the struggle for 'Free Kansas' thirty years ago, writes for the Boston *Herald* a slashing criticism of the last instalment of Nicolay and Hay's biography of Abraham Lincoln in the April *Century*. The authors of the biography are accused of 'an effort to disparage the work of the Emigrant Aid Company,' by showing that there was no need of any such organization, and that it was of little, if any, use in securing the freedom of Kansas. Mr. Thayer shows that this is a totally erroneous conception, and scarcely excusable in a work which assumes to take a place among sober works of history. The Emigrant Aid Company was not only systematic and effi-

cient in its own field of operations, but it formed the indispensable rallying-point of all other efforts for making Kansas a free State. To suppose that Kansas could have been rescued from the pro-slavery conspiracy by the ordinary course of free immigration, is to ignore all the facts of contemporary history, geography, and social science. The truth was stated with great frankness and exactness by Senator Green of Missouri, in 1861, when he said: 'But for the hot-bed plants that have been planted in Kansas by the instrumentality of the Emigrant Aid Society, Kansas would have been with Missouri this day.' Yet it is not to be supposed that the biographers of Abraham Lincoln have made any 'effort' to disparage the work of the Emigrant Aid Company. They could have had no motive to do so. They have not made sufficient preliminary study for this part of their work; and the same remark applies to their sketch of the war with Mexico."

Editorial in the Boston *Herald*, April 25, 1887:

ELI THAYER'S TESTIMONY.

"Hon. Eli Thayer exposes in the *Sunday Herald* of yesterday some very bad mistakes which the authors of the new Life of Lincoln, publishing in the *Century Magazine*, have made in their narration of the settlement of Kansas. This is in the line of what we stated at the time the instalment criticised appeared. These biographers are excellently fitted to write of Mr. Lincoln himself, especially as they saw him in personal intercourse. They will make a most interesting, as well as valuable, book, if they confine themselves to this point. Beyond it they have shown themselves not to be reliable historians. We alluded to some instances in point. Mr. Thayer's exposure is signal and conclusive. It is all the more pity that they should have swelled their book by the narration of this Kansas settlement, as it had nothing whatever to do with the life of Mr. Lincoln."

And again, May 3, 1887:

THE KANSAS CONFLICT.

"The exposure of the bad mistake made by the authors of the 'Life of Lincoln,' in the *Century*, with regard to the early history

of Kansas, has at last fully found its way into the press, and is generally commented upon. It was originally exposed in the *Herald* more than a week ago. This patronizing conception of the Emigrant Aid Society of the North as an organization of good intentions, but of no important achievement, was almost grotesque in its error, had not its injustice overshadowed its absurd feature."

The following testimony, proving the efficiency and controlling power of the Emigrant Aid Company in the decisive contest between freedom and slavery in Kansas, is mainly from the pro-slavery side.

In his evidence before the Howard Congressional Committee,* John H. Stringfellow, having been duly sworn, said:

"At the time of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and prior to that time, I never heard any man, in my section of Missouri, express a doubt about the character of the institutions which would be established here, provided the Missouri restriction was removed; and I heard of no combination of persons, either in public or private, prior to the time of the organization of the Emigrant Aid Society, and indeed for months afterwards, for the purpose of making united action to frustrate the designs of that society in abolitionizing, or making a free State of Kansas. The conviction was general that it would be a slave State. The settlers who came over from Missouri after the passage of the bill, so far as I know, generally believed that Kansas would be a slave State. Free-State men who came into the Territory after the passage of the bill were regarded with jealousy by the people of western Missouri, for the reason that a society had been formed for the avowed purpose of shaping the institutions of Kansas Territory, so as to make it a free State in opposition to the interests of the people of Missouri. If no emigrant aid societies had been formed in the Northern States, the emigration of people from there, known to be in favor of making Kansas a

* House Documents Thirty-fourth Congress, No. 200.

free State, would have stimulated the emigration from Missouri. Had it not been for the emigrant aid societies, the majority in favor of slave institutions would, by the natural course of emigration, have been so great as to have fixed the institutions of the Territory without any exciting contest, as it was in the Settlement of the Platte Purchase. This was the way we regarded the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and this was the reason why we supported it."

Isaac M. Edwards (sworn):

"It is my opinion that all the difficulties and troubles have been produced by the operations of the Emigrant Aid Society. I am satisfied that if the Emigrant Aid Society had not sent men out to the Territory of Kansas for the purpose of making it a free State, there would be no trouble or difficulties in the Territory."

Scores of other witnesses before the Howard Commission testified in nearly the same words that there would have been *no contest whatever in Kansas* had it not been caused by the efforts of the Emigrant Aid Company to make Kansas a free State, by sending thither organized colonies of free-State men.

This was not the testimony of Missourians alone, nor of pro-slavery settlers in Kansas. You will find it in all the pro-slavery papers of the time, and in nearly all the antislavery journals.

Throughout the South the Emigrant Aid Company, often under the name of "Eli Thayer & Co.," was charged with the enormous crime of making Kansas a free State. In Missouri various sums, in several localities, were publicly offered for the head of the founder of that company.

Even in the halls of Congress pro-slavery senators and representatives denounced this company

as the power which had robbed the slave-State party of Kansas, and had put in peril the very existence of slavery.

In 1861, though the battle had been fought in Kansas, and the victory won by the free-State men years before, Senator Green, of Missouri, said in the Senate: "But for the hot-bed plants that have been planted in Kansas through the instrumentality of the Emigrant Aid Society, Kansas would have been with Missouri this day."

Stephen A. Douglas, in his report to the United States Senate in 1856, said: "Popular sovereignty was struck down by unholy combinations in New England."

Senator J. A. Bayard, of Delaware, said: "Whatever evil or loss or suffering or injury may result to Kansas, or to the United States at large, is attributable, as a primary cause, to the Emigrant Aid Society of Massachusetts."

Senator Douglas, in his report to the Senate March 12, 1856, while vigorously denouncing the Emigrant Aid Company, excuses the acts of the border ruffians as follows:

"When the emigrants sent out by the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company and their affiliated societies passed through the State of Missouri in large numbers on their way to Kansas, the violence of their language and the unmistakable indications of their determined hostility to the domestic institutions of that State created apprehensions that the object of the company was to abolitionize Kansas as a means of prosecuting a relentless warfare upon the institutions of slavery within the limits of Missouri. These apprehensions increased and spread with the progress of events, until they became the settled convictions of the people of that portion of the State most exposed to the danger by their

proximity to the Kansas border. The natural consequence was that immediate steps were taken by the people of the western counties of Missouri to stimulate, organize, and carry into effect a system of emigration similar to that of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, for the avowed purpose of counteracting the effects, and protecting themselves and their domestic institutions from the consequences of that company's operations."

The following article is from the *Charleston* (S. C.) *Mercury* of July, 1856:

"Now upon the proposition that the safety of the institution of slavery in South Carolina is dependent upon its establishment in Kansas, there can be no rational doubt. He, therefore, who does not contribute largely in money now, proves himself criminally indifferent, if not hostile, to the institution upon which the prosperity of the South and of this State depends. Let the names, therefore, be published daily, that we may see who are lukewarm in this vital issue—then we may see who are the people in this community *who require to be watched*. . . .

"We suggest that the Kansas Association appoint a large vigilance committee, whose consultations shall be secret, and who shall take in charge the conduct of delinquents, and adopt such secret measures in reference to them as the interests of the community demand. In this way the contributions will doubtless be adequate, and the cause of Kansas will prosper."

The following is an extract from a long address issued by Atchison, Stringfellow, Buford, and others, on the 21st of June, 1856:

"Kansas they [the Abolitionists] justly regard as the mere outpost of the war now being waged between the antagonistic civilizations of the North and South, and, winning this great outpost and stand-point, they rightly think their march will be open to an easy conquest of the whole field. Hence the extraordinary means the Abolition party has adopted to flood Kansas with the most fanatical and lawless portion of Northern society, and hence the large sums of money . . . expended . . . to surround Missourians with obnoxious and dangerous neighbors. On the

other hand, the pro-slavery element of the law and order party in Kansas, looking to the Bible, finds slavery ordained of God. . . . Slavery is the negro's normal and proper state. We believe it a trust and guardianship, given as of God for the good of both races. . . . This is . . . a great social and political question of races, . . . a question whether we shall sink to the level of the freed African, and take him to the embrace of social and political equality and fraternity; for such is the natural end of Abolition progress. . . . That man or State is deceived that fondly trusts these fanatics may stop at Kansas. . . . The most convincing proof of this was recently given before the Congressional investigating committee. Judge Matthew Walker . . . testified . . . that before the Abolitionists selected Lawrence as their centre of operations, their leader, Governor Robinson, attempted to get a foothold for them in the Wyandotte Reserve. . . . Robinson, finding it necessary to communicate their plans and objects, divulged to Walker (whom he then supposed to be a sympathizer) that the Abolitionists were determined on winning Kansas at any cost; that then, having Missouri surrounded on three sides, they would begin their assaults on her, and as fast as one State gave way attack another, until the whole South was abolitionized. . . . We are confident that . . . the Abolition party was truly represented by Robinson, who has always been their chief man and acknowledged leader in Kansas. . . . It was proved before the investigating committee that the Abolition party had travelling agents in the Territory, whose duty it was to gather up, exaggerate, and report for publication rumors to the prejudice of the law and order party. . . . In the present imperilled state of your civilization, if we do not maintain this outpost we cannot long maintain the citadel. Then rally to the rescue."

De Bow's Review for August, 1856, published an appeal to the South in favor of establishing slavery in Kansas. Here are several extracts:

"Slaves will now yield a greater profit in Kansas, either to hire out or to cultivate the soil, than any other place. . . . Those who have brought their slaves here are reaping a rich reward . . . and feel as secure in their property here as in Kentucky and Missouri. . . . Why it is that more of our friends have not brought

their slaves with them, we are at a loss to divine, unless the falsehoods and threats of the Abolitionists have frightened them.... Should Kansas be made a slave State? We say that location, climate, soil, productions, value of slave labor, the good of the master and slave—all conspire and cry aloud that it should be.... The squatters, too, have said three successive times, at the polls, that Kansas should be a slave State. But if all this is not enough, then we say, without fear of successful contradiction, that Kansas must be a slave State or the Union will be dissolved.... If Kansas is not made a slave State, it requires no sage to foretell that there will never be another slave State....Can Kansas be made a slave State? Thus far the pro-slavery party has triumphed in Kansas in spite of the Abolitionists and their Emigrant Aid Societies."

The prophetic threat of secession in the above—"Kansas must be a slave State or the Union will be dissolved"—is repeated in several quotations that follow. During the great conflict in Kansas this threat was made thousands of times in Southern journals. They all asserted constantly, and with the best of reasons, that should Kansas be a free State there could never be another slave State admitted into the Union. Here, then, was the argument and the prelude of the attempted secession. The Civil War followed, and the slaves were emancipated "as a military necessity." These were the logical sequences of the grand crusade and conflict.

Ralph Waldo Emerson said of the Emancipation Proclamation, in his "Miscellanies," page 248:

"Whilst we have pointed out the opportuneness of the Proclamation, it remains to be said that the President had no choice. He might look wistfully for what variety of courses lay open to him; every line but one was closed up with fire. This one, too, bristled with danger, but through it was the sole safety. The measure he has adopted was imperative....

"We think we cannot overstate the wisdom and benefit of this act of the Government. The malignant cry of the secession press within the free States, and the recent action of the Confederate Congress, are decisive as to its efficiency and correctness of aim."

The following, of like import with *De Bow's Review*, is from the *Mobile Register*, January, 1858:

"We sincerely trust there will be no flinching or hesitation on the part of our Southern representatives in Congress in the emergency before us. We hope they will meet the issue with an unbroken front, and let it be distinctly understood that the admission of Kansas, with her present Constitution and upon her present application, is the *sine qua non* of the continuance of the Southern States in the confederacy."

From the *Charleston Mercury*, January, 1858:

"Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama stand pledged to secede from the Union should Kansas, applying to Congress for admission as a slave State, be refused admission."

From the *New York Herald*, January, 1858:

"With the capitulation of the South upon Kansas, all the measures, principles, abstractions, and protestations of the Southern politicians, statesmen, States, and conventions of the last fifty years will be reduced to rubbish, and the chivalry, the prestige, the unity and self-sustaining spirit of the South will have departed forever. The question is one of life or death to the South, upon the simple alternative of the admission or rejection of Kansas with her slave-State Constitution."

From the *Richmond South*, November 24, 1857:

"We declare at once that the Democracy of the South will never suffer Kansas to be kept out of the Union simply because its Constitution has never been submitted to the vote of the people."

The following extract from a speech made by Hon. George S. Boutwell in Tremont Temple, Bos-

ton, December 16, 1861, contains several very important facts, which I intend to examine and account for:

"These people have gone out of the Union because they see they cannot extend slavery in the Union. It was not because a few Abolitionists in the North hated slavery; it was not because some of us went to Chicago in 1860 and nominated Abraham Lincoln for President, and then elected him; but it was because men of all parties and all persuasions and all ideas in the North had come to the conclusion that slavery should not be extended. It was the doctrine of churches, the doctrine of homes and hearth-stones, that slavery should not be extended."

1. "These people have gone out of the Union because they could not extend slavery in the Union."

The reader will observe in the preceding quotations that "these people" had been saying, during the entire Kansas struggle, that should they lose Kansas they could never form another slave State in the Union, and should therefore go out of the Union. Now, why did they lose Kansas? Abundant authority has already been presented in these pages to prove that they lost Kansas through the plan of organized emigration employed by the Emigrant Aid Company and by hundreds of Kansas leagues in thirteen Northern States. All these organizations had a common origin, and acted upon the same principles. Without them there would have been no contest whatever in that Territory. So what Mr. Boutwell says is true; and this commentary, which he withholds, is no less true.

2. "It was not because a few Abolitionists in the North hated slavery."

Evidently not. For twenty-five years slavery had prospered to such an extent in defiance of that hatred, that she had, in 1854, obtained absolute control of every department of the Government. The Abolitionists to whom Mr. Boutwell refers—the Garrison disunionists—had accomplished nothing, as has been amply shown by the highest authorities in our history. Had the South secured Kansas for slavery, she might have continued to laugh to scorn the impotence, as well as the impudence, of these fanatics.

3. "It was not because some of us went to Chicago and nominated Lincoln for President, and then elected him."

Here Mr. Boutwell wisely corrects a popular error, that the South attempted to secede from the Union because Mr. Lincoln was elected President. Had the South made Kansas a slave State it would not have been in the power of Lincoln or of any other President, however hostile to slavery he might have been, to do anything whatever to impair the strength or to hinder the progress of that institution. In a few years the South would have had in the Senate a large majority of members from the slave States. Hence there could have been no legislation detrimental to their cherished institution. It is, therefore, supreme folly to attribute secession to the election of Mr. Lincoln. Had the South won Kansas she would never have attempted secession.

4. "But it was because men of all parties and all persuasions and all ideas in the North had come to

the conclusion that slavery should not be extended. It was the doctrine of churches, the doctrine of homes and hearth-stones, that slavery should not be extended."

Very well. But what agency had accomplished this unification of the North upon this question? In the spring of 1854, when the entire North was engaged in protesting against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and trembling at the prospect of more slave States and the perpetual domination of slavery — when Charles Sumner spoke against the repeal in the United States Senate, "standing," as he said, "by the very grave of freedom in Kansas and Nebraska" — when Senator Seward conceded these Territories to slavery, saying, "None of us here can have anything to do in preventing or removing the curse; it may be done by future generations" — THEN, in the spring of the pivotal year 1854, these same "men of all parties and all persuasions and all ideas" had not the slightest hope of making Kansas free, or of arresting the continued and triumphant tyranny of the "Black Power" in this country. But just here came the revelation of a plan to save Kansas. At first nobody believed in it; but before the end of 1854 "the men of all parties and all persuasions and all ideas" began to be combined in this great work. Before the end of 1856 the North was a unit against the extension of slavery. In fact, any such extension had been made forever impossible by the triumph of the free-State cause in Kansas. That was the beginning of the end of slavery. To be sure,

Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas debated the question of slavery extension in 1858, but they were discussing an issue absolutely dead and of no importance whatever to anybody except to the debaters themselves.

We had already secured the freedom of Kansas, while the slave-holders had every possible advantage in the contest. They had the full control of every department of the Government, and were in force upon the very border of the Territory, while our emigrants had to make a journey of many hundred miles, and much of that through the slave State of Missouri. But by the Plan of Freedom adopted by the Emigrant Aid Company, Kansas was made free—very decidedly free—so that when admitted into the Union there was no slave State party within her borders. What, then, would have been the result had the attempt been made to create a slave State either south or west of Kansas, while we had her as our base of supplies for men and arms? It really seems jocose to discuss such a matter. Messrs. Lincoln and Douglas might as well have debated whether or not it was desirable to prevent the recurrence of the Glacial Period. In proof of the position that there could be no more slave States, I trust I shall be pardoned for introducing here an extract from my speech in the House of Representatives on the 24th of February, 1859, made soon after the Douglas-Lincoln debate, as follows:

"I can refer you to the history of Kansas. Kansas, without any protection for freedom, has become a free State, or at least

she is this day prepared to be a free State, and will never be anything less. In defiance of numerous obstacles in the way of obtaining her freedom, she has bravely secured it. In the immediate vicinity of the Platte Purchase, the most intensely pro-slavery portion of Missouri, there, almost in the bosom of slave States, there, far removed from the States of the North, which furnish emigrants to the West, and with all the force of the General Government against freedom, and for slavery in the Territory, the free-State heroes have triumphed; and not only that, but they have put forth many times the power which was requisite to accomplish the grand result. If it had not been for Executive intervention, and for the cowardly predictions of faint-hearted anti-slavery men in the North that Kansas would be lost, I think, sir, that the contest might have been ended before the year 1856.

"But as it was, notwithstanding all the obstacles in her way, the contest began to grow insipid during that year for want of opposition from the pro-slavery side, and I left it, as Atchison and Stringfellow had already done. Since that time we know very well what has been the history of Kansas. It is now apparent that there are at least eight or nine free-State men in that Territory to one slave-State man. Whatever may have been intended, such, sir, has been the effect of adopting this principle, which has compelled Northern men to rely upon themselves, and act upon their own responsibility in this matter of making free States. This is safer than to leave this question to Congress and to law. I have a thousand times more confidence in the people than I have in Congress on this subject.

"Now, Mr. Chairman, compare the resources of these two causes that contend for pre-eminence in the Territories—free labor and slave labor. How do we find the wealth and numbers of the North when contrasted with those of the South? I shall not dwell upon this point, for on a former occasion I opened that greatest book of martyrs, the Census of the United States, and showed how these facts were.

"But how do the North and South compare in the power of combination? Why, we men of the North, called the Northern hive, live in towns and villages. Even our agricultural districts are quite densely peopled. We have, in Massachusetts, one hundred and thirty men to the square mile. If there is any difficulty abroad or at home—if there is any need for immediate action

or remote action, it is easy for us to assemble, and consult, and determine what action is needed, and what shall be most effective. And, sir, when it was necessary to put some colonies into Kansas, I found no difficulty in having meetings in these towns and villages at very short notice. Plans were formed for making colonies, and for taking possession of the country in dispute, and thus the result contemplated was accomplished. But how can any such concert of action exist in that part of our country where there is only eighty-nine one-hundredths of a man to a square mile? What chance of holding meetings, of kindling enthusiasm, of taking council, and of laying plans for accomplishing grand results? None whatever.

"Then, sir, added to this ready combination, we also have great facilities of locomotion. Our people can migrate with but little difficulty. If there were a meeting to-night to put a colony into Kansas, all the arrangement might be perfected, and complete preparation made for starting, in two weeks. The next day after the meeting you would see flaming hand-bills on the streets headed, 'Ho for Kansas!' 'Property for Sale!' Daguerreotypes of some 'familiar faces,' and perhaps the old homestead, would be taken, and in two weeks the colony, on the lightning train, following a pillar of cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night, would be going on its way to their prairie home.

"How can a Southern planter hope to rival this speed and readiness of transition? After he has determined to emigrate, his plantation is to be sold, and the purchaser is to be hunted up, and much time is required. And after a purchaser is found, credit must be given of from one to twenty years. But suppose all this accomplished, and the whole train of servants made ready for the journey, how like a funeral procession would they appear loitering along through the swamps of Alabama and Mississippi! No, sir, you cannot compete with us in this game of emigration. We evidently have the advantage of you every way. You have not power to make a contest in this matter interesting. I say this in no spirit of malignant exultation. I am laying down facts, and I wish Southern men to understand their bearing and inevitable consequences.

"But, sir, the Southern planter does not take his force of negroes to a disputed Territory. The case which I was just now supposing never really occurs in practice. It did not once occur

during the contest for the Territory of Kansas. I have never heard of a single slave-holder who took there even as many as five negroes.

"The spirit of devotion and the spirit of Christianity sometimes prompt to great sacrifices, but I am compelled to believe that the Southern planters are few in number who will hazard the loss of their slaves, even for the grand purpose of securing 'scope and verge' to African Christianization.

"If, then, there is no motive of Christianity potent enough to influence slave-holders to move with their slaves to the Territories of the West, there certainly can be no other sufficient inducement. There can be no pecuniary inducement to convey slaves where the very soil under their feet will be in dispute, and where the slaves themselves may be confiscated by an organic law excluding slavery from the new State, or by the statute law of the Territory, called 'unfriendly legislation.'

"Again, sir, there is a converting power in these free-State colonies, and it is a wonderful power. I assert, on the best authority, that the majority of the inhabitants of Kansas, who went there from slave States, are to-day free-State men. They came in contact with these Northern communities, they learned some facts of which they were not before cognizant, and they made up their minds that it was best for them and their children that Kansas should be a free State. This converting influence extended to the governors of the Territory. 'The extinguishers themselves took fire,' and to this day they give a charmingly brilliant light.

"Now, sir, in addition to these resources, contrast the causes themselves, which are in conflict. Contrast free labor with slave labor. What are their histories and what their relative power? Free labor has covered the once sterile hills of New England with orchards and gardens and cornfields. It has filled our valleys with the music of machinery and the hum of busy industry. The same creating power has built thriving cities and towns upon our Western waters, and clothed the prairies with fields of waving grain. Scaling the Rocky Mountains, the same majestic power has opened the golden gates of the Pacific, and has transformed the solitary wilderness,

> "'Where rolled the Oregon, and heard no sound,
> Save his own dashings,'

into a prosperous State, destined to become the most important seat of commerce and manufactures on our Western coast.

"Here are some of the trophies of free labor. Others yet, and greater, will be secured in the future. Stronger than Briareus, and possessing more arms than the giant monster brought to defend the throne of Jupiter against assailing Titans, free labor, unaided by law, relying solely on its own inherent energy, will always be found able to protect its own inheritance.

"But where are the triumphs of slave labor? I will not reply —I press this comparison no further.

"Now, sir, there is no chance of making another slave State from any Territory belonging to this confederacy. I state this as a fair and well-founded conclusion, that it may be considered by men from all portions of the country. I think that sensible men from the South already consider it a settled fact. What need, then, of quarrelling about measures for securing what is already secure? Security is all we ask, and that we have. That is the grand result of a contest to which you invited us, and to which we reluctantly came. We did not propose to you this very unequal game of emigration. It was a game which was proposed by the Democratic party, and the South enlisted in it, under the lead of that party. And what was the stake? You compelled the North to stake Kansas on that game, while you voluntarily offered to stake all the other Territories. For one, I was ready to accept that challenge. I was ready to enter upon that game upon such terms. I did do it. I do not now regret it. I do not want it otherwise than it is; for all that we have lost in achieving the victory that we have gained is more than ten thousand times repaid in that disciplined army of freemen, who are determined to see that all is right, from Minnesota to the Gulf of Mexico. These are the facts, and it is better for the whole country that such are the facts."

It would, therefore, have been but a graceful act of simple justice to the agency which had made the extension of slavery impossible, had Mr. Boutwell given the credit of this great work to the Plan of Freedom, as pursued and exemplified by

the Emigrant Aid Company and its numerous sister organizations.

But it is the mission of this book to supply the "missing links," not only in the speech of Mr. Boutwell, but in the writings and speeches of thousands of others. Proof without limit, and authorities without number, are waiting to co-operate in this work. At this time only a selection can be made, though to most readers this will be convincing proof. But should any still cherish doubts, it will be the work of the future historian, pursuing the course here indicated, to dig out of the archives of the last thirty-five years the materials for the pedestal upon which the statue of Historic Truth shall stand peerless and supreme.

If further testimony be needed to show the power of the Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas it can be found in quantities almost without limit, in the *Congressional Globe*, in the reports of Congressional committees, in thousands upon thousands of letters from the Kansas settlers to their friends in the States, in the editorials of all the Southern and of nearly all the Northern journals, in the reports of thousands of election speeches, and in all contemporaneous and general records of whatever kind.

The work of saving Kansas was done before the eyes of the whole world. We said we would do it, and stop the making of slave States. We also laid down our methods; we went on just as we had promised and used the methods proposed, and accomplished the results aimed at, without the help

of politicians, and in spite of the active hostility of the Abolitionists.

No man, unless he be ignorant of the facts in the Kansas struggle, or completely blinded by malice or envy, will ever attempt to defraud the Emigrant Aid Company of the glory of having saved Kansas by defeating the slave power in a great and decisive contest.

The logical sequences of this great work, in relation to slavery, were:

1. The conviction in the South that no more slave States could ever be formed in the Union.
2. The attempt to secede, so that slave States might be formed outside of the Union.
3. The Civil War.
4. The Emancipation Proclamation as a military necessity.
5. The Union preserved and slavery destroyed.

The national results of the Kansas conflict may be briefly summarized:

1. It stopped the making of slave States.
2. It made the Republican party.
3. It nearly elected Fremont, and did elect Lincoln.
4. It united and solidified the North against slavery, and was a necessary training to enable it to subdue secession.*

* The wonderful increase of the antislavery vote in 1855 and 1856 was brought about by the illegal assaults of the slave power upon the citizens of Kansas. The figures in New England and New York from 1848 to 1856 are here given. It will be seen

5. It drove the slave-holders, through desperation, into secession.

6. It has given us a harmonious and enduring Union.

7. It has emancipated the white race of the South, as well as the negroes, from the evils of slavery.

8. It is even now regenerating the South.

that the fall elections of 1854 were little influenced by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

	New England.	New York.
1848	72,368	120,479
1849	79,454	1,311
1850	42,270	3,410
1851	43,401	000
1852	57,143	25,359
1853	63,668	000
(Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, a *Lawful* act.)		
1854	79,632	000
(After *Unlawful* aggression in Kansas.)		
1855	184,850	136,698
1856	307,417	276,004



APPENDIX I.

SUICIDE OF SLAVERY.

By the request of many friends I here insert two of my Congressional speeches. They elucidate very fully the preceding chapters, by showing the practice and philosophy of the Emigrant Aid Company.

The first, upon the "Suicide of Slavery," was delivered in the House of Representatives on the 25th of March, 1858, as follows:

"It may be expected, Mr. Chairman, that at this time I should say something in defence of the Pilgrims and of the State of Massachusetts; for they have been repeatedly assailed on this floor within the last two weeks. But I shall make no defence. There are some things which I never attempt to defend. Among these are the Falls of Niagara, the White Mountains of New Hampshire, the Atlantic Ocean, Plymouth Rock, Bunker Hill, and the history of Massachusetts. Any man may assail either or all of them with perfect impunity, so far as I am concerned. And words of disparagement or vituperation directed against either of these objects, by any assailant, excite in me feelings very different from those of indignation—whether the assailant comes with a bow as long as that of the bold Robin Hood, or with a bow of *shorter* range, like that of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Shorter]. [Laughter.] But I deprecate the disposition that impels these shafts against the sister States of this confederacy. I deprecate this sectional animosity whenever and wherever I see it evinced. I have heard too much of the aggressions of the North and of the aggressions of the South, in the past, to be very much in love with either of these ideas. I have never been accustomed to speak of the aggressions of the slave power, and I have no purpose of doing it now or hereafter. If the one-hundredth part

of the people of this country can make dangerous aggressions on the rights and interests of the other ninety-nine hundredth parts of the people, either by the force of strength or by the arts of diplomacy, I assure you that I shall be the last man to complain of it. I think that this slavery question is altogether too small a question to disturb so great a people as inhabit the United States of America.

"For myself, I was always in favor of popular sovereignty, rightly so called. I am ready, for one, to agree to-day that the Territories belonging to this Government shall be open to settlement at any time, when Congress thinks fit so to open them, and that the people of all parts of the country shall go into them with the assurance of *absolute and complete non-intervention;* with the assurance that whenever any chief executive, official, or non-resident shall interfere, by fraud or violence, in their affairs, he shall either be impeached or hanged; with the assurance that when the people shall have the ratio of representation required by law, and shall come to Congress with a Constitution republican in form, they shall be admitted into the Union as a State. This, sir, is popular sovereignty, and it is what was practised in this country two centuries ago.

"The people of the Plymouth colony had the privilege of choosing their own governor and of making their own laws. The same was true of the New Haven colony, and of the colony of the Providence Plantations. They always did it. I believe the Crown of England never appointed a governor for these colonies; certainly not for the last two. But were those people, without ever having exercised the right of self-government, better prepared to govern themselves than are our people, educated under our State governments, who go into our Territories? Why, then, should we continue to have an 'Ahab to trouble Israel,' while he lays the blame of his own misconduct upon the emigrant aid societies? Why not cut off these Territories from all connection with the General Government, legislative or executive? Then we shall have no more agitation in Congress, and no more contention in the Territories. But so long as this connection continues, so long as we have a President trying to bias by his appointments, and, perhaps, by the United States troops, the will of the people, so long shall we have agitation, and we shall have enough of it.

"Well, sir, I have nothing to find fault about. I am very well pleased with the present tendency of events. But, sir, there are those who are dissatisfied, and who are inclined to invoke a certain deity—I think a false deity—which presides over a portion of this Union; a deity which has been invoked by great men on great occasions, and by little men on little occasions, for a long time past—a deity in whose expected presence both the people and the politicians have sometimes stood aghast—'when he,' in prospect only, 'from his horrid hair shook pestilence and war.' This sulphurous god is Disunion. This Capitol Hill has been a veritable Mount Carmel for the last quarter of a century, upon which experiments have been tried with this bogus deity. *One day* upon Mount Carmel was sufficient to determine the destiny of Baal and his prophets. But here, we, the most patient people in the world, witness these invocations *year after year*, with exemplary endurance, expecting that the great Is-to-be will some time come. And you and I, Mr. Chairman, even during the present session of Congress, have witnessed attempts to kindle here the fires upon the altar of Southern rights. But the sacrifice, the altar, and the spectators were as cold as alabaster. The prophets only were warm; but they were warm, not from the presence of the god, but from his absence. He does not make his appearance. The great Is-to-be does not come. He has either gone on a very long journey, or else he is in a very deep sleep.

"Well, sir, shall we have this deity of Disunion invoked forever? Who is to blame? If the North has given cause, what have we done? What cause of disunion has ever proceeded from us? Have you not had everything your own way? Have we not let you have the Democratic party to use as you please? [Laughter.] Have you not had the Government for a long time? And have we not let you use it just as you had a mind to? We, sir, were busy about our commerce, extending it around the world; about our railroads; our internal improvements; our colleges, and all those things which interest our people. We knew that you had a taste for governing, and that by the indulgence you might be gratified without serious injury to us. For many years you have had your own way, but now you come here and cry out 'disunion.' Why, what more *can* we do?

"Well, it may be that we have encouraged a mistake on your part. It may be that we have given you some reason to suppose

that this temporary courtesy of governing, which we have extended, was a permanent right. However, if you have fallen into that error, we will, perhaps, at some future time disabuse and correct you. But whatever blame there is anywhere, whatever cause there is for disunion, must attach to the action of the slave power, commanding and controlling the Democratic party, and to no one else in the country. Therefore, at this time, I come with exultation—not, to be sure, with malignant exultation—to speak for a few moments upon the decline and fall of slavery—nay, sir, further, upon the *suicide* of slavery in this land. I will show you by what acts the two most important pillars of its support have been removed, and that the whole system of slavery must therefore fall. And these two events have been accomplished, if not by its direct efforts, at least by the connivance of this same party, impelled by this same controlling agency.

"I will first show you how the moral power of this institution has been destroyed, by what act, and then I will show you how and by what act its political power is forever doomed. But, sir, how did an institution like this ever have a moral power is a question for us to examine. In the first place, we are told by Southern men that we have a nation of heathen in our land; and we are told by the same authority that we have an institution here for their regeneration. Now, sir, if we have, from necessity, a nation of heathen in our land, and if slavery is an institution for their regeneration, it is very clear that slavery has a moral power. But, says the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Gartrell], speaking of negroes, 'They are idle, dissolute, improvident, lazy, unthrifty, who think not of to-morrow, who provide but scantily for to-day.'

"I will also give you other proof. Here it is:

"'Who would credit it, that in these years of benevolent and successful missionary effort in this Christian republic, there are over two millions of human beings *in the condition of heathen*, and, in some respects, in a worse condition? From long-continued and close observation, we believe their moral and religious condition is such that they may justly be regarded as the heathen of this Christian country.'—*Committee of Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, in* 1833.

"'After making all reasonable allowances, our colored population can be considered, at the best, but *semi-heathens*.'—*Ken-*

tucky Union's Circular to the Ministers of the Gospel in Kentucky, 1834.

"'There seems to be an almost entire absence of moral principle among the mass of our colored population.'—*C. W. Gooch, Esq., Prize Essay on Agriculture in Virginia.*

"'There needs no stronger illustration of the doctrine of depravity than the state of human nature on plantations in general. . . . Their advance in years is but a progression to the higher grades of iniquity.'—*Hon. C. C. Pinckney, Address before the South Carolina Agricultural Society, at Charleston, 1829, second edition, pages* 10, 12.

"The Maryville (Tennessee) *Intelligencer* of October 4, 1835, says of the slaves of the South-west, that their 'condition, through time, will be second only to that of the wretched creatures in hell.'

"Here, then, is a field for great missionary labor; and it is fortunate that, under these circumstances, we happen to have an institution which is perfectly adapted to the regeneration of a lost and ruined race. I quote from the honorable member from the State of Virginia, in a speech delivered here, some time ago, in the House of Representatives:

"'I believe that the institution of slavery is a noble one; that it is necessary for the good, the well-being, of the negro race. Looking to history, I go further, and I say, in the presence of this assembly, and under all the imposing circumstances surrounding me, that I believe it is God's institution. Yes, sir, if there is anything in the action of the great Author of us all; if there is anything in the conduct of his chosen people; if there is anything in the conduct of Christ himself, who came upon this earth, and yielded up his life as a sacrifice, that all through his death might live; if there is anything in the conduct of his apostles, who inculcated obedience on the part of slaves towards their masters as a Christian duty, then we must believe that the institution is from God.'—*Hon. Wm. Smith, of Virginia, in a speech in the House of Representatives.*

"Again, I quote from the speech of the honorable gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Gartrell], in regard to this same sentiment:

"'Every sentiment expressed in that eloquent extract meets my hearty approbation. As a Christian man, believing in the teachings of Holy Writ, I am here to-day before a Christian na-

tion to reaffirm and reannounce the conclusion to which that distinguished gentleman came—that this institution, however much it may have been reviled, is of God.'

"Mr. Chairman these are not the only authorities on this subject. You and I have heard from the other side, day after day, quotations from the Bible, intending to prove the same thing; and you and I know that there are honest men in the slave States who believe that this is a fact. I have seen such men myself, and have conversed with them. They have told me that slavery was an absolute curse; and that the only reason why they held their slaves a day was that they owed them certain religious duties, and must keep them to look after their spiritual welfare. They feared that if their slaves were cast loose upon the world, with nobody to look after their spiritual interests, they would be spiritually lost. I heard this from a gentleman from Kentucky, and again from a gentleman from Augusta, Georgia, and I believe in my heart that both of these gentlemen were honest in these views.

"I am not here to impugn any man's motives. I put this upon the ground that is claimed by Southern men; and when I listened to the gentlemen on the other side, reading honestly from the sacred volume in defence of this institution, as coming from God, and as a means for the regeneration of a heathen race in our land, I felt impelled to use the language of the Apostle to the Gentiles, which he employed on Mars Hill: 'Oh, Athenians, I perceive that in all things ye are exceedingly given to religion.' [Laughter.] Now, sir, since this institution has done all it ever can in this capacity, and since it is now destroyed as a converting and regenerating power, I stand here to give it its proper place in ecclesiastical history, for its right place it has never yet had.

"In order to understand what position it is entitled to, we must, to some extent, speak by comparison, because we cannot speak absolutely on these matters of religion. The religious journals of the free States have oftentimes most unreasonably exulted over our religious efforts, when they contrasted them with the efforts of our Southern brethren. I have seen placed in parallel columns, in Northern journals, the contributions of the free States and the contributions of the slave States; and there were mighty words of exultation, unbecoming a Christian journal or Christian people at any time, when it was shown that

our contributions for foreign missions were a hundred-fold more than yours. It is true we make more contributions. The city of Boston gives, for foreign missions, perhaps more than all the slave States; and the city of New York perhaps more than Boston. But what of that? We give a few cents apiece, and only a few cents, for foreign missions each year, which amounts to a great sum, because we are a great people. We send men to heathen nations far over the water, to tell them about their future destiny. We are careful not to send our *best* men; we keep our Notts and Waylands, and our Beechers and Cheevers, at home; but sometimes a Judson escapes from us before we know what he is. This is about the extent we submit to self-sacrifice for the sake of the heathen.

"Is there any cause for exultation in this, when we see what our Southern brethren have done and are doing? When have we ever taken the heathen to our hearth-stones and to our bosoms? When have we ever admitted the heathen to social communion with ourselves and our children? When have we ever taken the heathen to our large cities to show them the works of art, or to the watering-places to show them fashionable society and beautiful scenery? Did you ever see a Yankee at the White Sulphur Springs shedding a benign religious influence over a little congregation of heathen companions? [Laughter.] We have pious women in the Northern States, whose bright example has made attractive the paths of virtue and religion. Conspicuous among them, in every good work, are the wives of our ministers and deacons; but not one of these, within the range of my acquaintance, would consider herself qualified, either by nature or by grace, to be chamber-maid, dry-nurse, and spiritual adviser to ten or twenty heathens in her own family. But, sir, had these worthy dames been *noble* dames; had they come down to us from the blood of the Norman kings, through the bounding pulses of sundry cavaliers, and then had been willing to assume these humble offices of Christian charity, we should have believed the time, so often prayed for, had already come, when 'kings should be fathers and queens nursing mothers in the Church.' Where, then, is the ground for this exultation on the part of the North? I tell you that it cannot be prompted by anything but a rotund, bulbous self-righteousness. So much, then, for the social sacrifices of our Southern brethren.

"What other sacrifices have they made to regenerate this race? Great moral and intellectual sacrifices. I will read what Southern men say on this subject.

"Judge Tucker, of Virginia, said in 1801:

"'I say nothing of the baneful effects of slavery on our moral character, because you know I have long been sensible of this point.'

"The Presbyterian Synod of South Carolina and Georgia said, in their report of 1834:

"'Those only who have the management of these servants know what the hardening effect of it is upon their own feelings towards them.'

"Judge Summers, of Virginia, said, in a speech in 1832, in almost the same words:

"'A slave population produces the most pernicious effect upon the manners, habits, and character of those among whom it exists.'

"Judge Nichols, of Kentucky, in a speech in 1837, said:

"'The deliberate convictions of my most matured consideration are, that the institution of slavery is a most serious injury to the habits, manners, and morals of our white population; that it leads to sloth, indolence, dissipation, and vice.'

"So said Mr. Jefferson:

"'The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals uncontaminated' [in the midst of slavery].

"John Randolph, on the floor of Congress, said:

"'Where are the trophies of this infernal traffic? The handcuffs, the manacle, the blood-stained cowhide! What man is worse received in society for being a hard master? Who denies the hand of sister or daughter to such monsters?'

"I might quote a hundred other Southern authorities of the same kind, showing the baneful effect of this institution upon the moral and intellectual character of the South. I might also quote from the United States Census. I have the papers here, but time will not allow.

"Now, in addition to these moral and intellectual sacrifices which our Southern brethren admit, there are pecuniary sacrifices which you know to be very great; indeed, had Virginia been free fifty years ago, had she been exempt from this great tendency to Christianize the African race, she would have been

worth more this day than all the Atlantic States south of New Jersey. And should she by any chance become free, you will see her wealth and her population increase in proportion as this missionary spirit is diminished. [Laughter.] It is true, our Southern brethren, impressed with this great idea of Christianizing the African race, having for their only ambition to present the souls of their negroes, without spot or blemish, before the throne of the Eternal, have sacrificed almost everything. I could quote from Southern men upon this subject. The sagacious statesman who governs the Old Dominion, in a speech a few years ago, said:

"'But in all the four cardinal resources—wonderful to tell, disagreeable to tell, shameful to announce—but one source of all four, in time past, has been employed to produce wealth. We have had no work in manufacturing, and commerce has spread its wings and flown from us, and agriculture has only skimmed the surface of mother earth. Three out of the four cardinal virtues have been idle; our young men, over their cigars and toddy, have been talking politics, and the negroes have been left to themselves, until we have all grown poor together.'

"But trials and tribulations and poverty have ever beset the path-way of the saints. In the earliest days, they 'wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins, persecuted, afflicted, tormented.' Even now, in the nineteenth century, the condition of our Southern brethren is not much improved, since they are compelled 'to chase the stump-tailed steer over sedge patches which outshine the sun to get a tough steak,' and to listen to the perpetual cry of 'Debts! debts!' 'Taxes! taxes!'

"In this age of material progress, you have seen the North outstrip you; but, with true Christian patience and Christian devotion, you have adhered to the great work of regenerating the heathen. [Laughter.] Through evil report and through good report, reproached and maligned abroad by those who did not understand your motives, and, worst of all, sometimes abused at home by the ungrateful objects of your Christian charity, you have still pressed on towards the mark of your high calling. Now, sir, when was there ever a class of men so devoted and so self-sacrificing? I have read the history of the Apostles; I have read the history of the Reformers, of the Scotch Covenanters, of the Huguenots, and of the Crusaders; and, I tell you, not in one

or all of these have I seen any such heroic self-sacrifice for the good of another race, or for the good of other men, as I do see in the history of these slave States. I have seen Fox's 'Book of Martyrs,' but there is nothing in that to compare at all with the martyrs of the South. The Census of the United States is the greatest book of martyrs ever printed. [Laughter.] Other books treat of martyrs as individuals; the Census of the United States treats of them by counties and by States. I can see how a man, impressed with a grand and noble sentiment, should perhaps, in excitement or in an emergency, give up his life in support of it; but I cannot see how a man can sacrifice his friends, his family, and his country for a religious idea or an abstraction.

"Here, then, sir, is the position of our Southern brethren upon this subject. But the worst is yet to be told—the doleful conclusion of the whole matter. They have made sacrifices, and it seems to me that they were entitled to the rewards for them; and I doubt not that they have often consoled themselves in contemplating the rewards in the future which must await them for such good services in the present. I have no doubt, sir, that oftentimes, seeing they have not treasures laid up on earth, they *supposed* they had treasures laid up in heaven. [Laughter.] But just at that time, when they seemed to be almost in the fruition of their labors, when the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Anderson], in great exultation of spirit, was speaking of the institution that had raised the negro from barbarism to Christianity and civilization, and when the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Hughes] had caught the inspiration, and said that although the body of the African might be toiling under the lash, 'his *soul* was free, and could converse on the sublimest principles of science and philosophy'—when faith had almost become sight—just then, sir, out comes the Supreme Court with the decision that A NEGRO HAS NO SOUL! [Laughter.]

"'Angels and ministers of grace defend us!' All these treasures that were supposed to have been laid up 'where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal,' have been invaded by the decision of the Supreme Court, and scattered to the four winds of heaven. More than two centuries of prayers and tears, of heroic self-sacrifice and Christian devotion, of faith and hope, of temporal and spiritual agony, have come to this 'lame and impotent conclusion.'

[Laughter.] The moral dignity of the grandest missionary enterprise of this age is annihilated.

"As a Northern man, I stand here a disinterested spectator of these events. If I do not like the decision of the court, I have a higher law. The negro himself can appeal to the court of heaven; but what refuge has the Southern Church? [Renewed laughter.] None whatever. This decision is a blow, direct and terrible, falling with crushing violence upon our Southern brethren. This Supreme Court, with cruel and relentless hostility, has persecuted the Southern Church as the dragon of the Apocalypse pursued the woman into the wilderness, seeking to devour her offspring. [Much laughter.]

"What motives could have impelled the court to this act? I have no doubt a patriotic motive. I am not here to impugn the motives of any man, or of any set of men, much less of the highest judicial tribunal in this land. No doubt, sir, their motives were patriotic, for they had witnessed the devastation of this terrible religious fanaticism through the South. They had seen the ravages of this disastrous missionary monomania, and they determined that there must be an end of it; and how could they so effectually end it as by annihilating at once the object of its aims and aspirations. That, sir, they have done.

"Here, then, endeth the *moral power* of the institution of slavery.

"I come now to the consideration of the event which just as surely has doomed to destruction the *political power* of that institution—I mean the repeal of the Missouri Compromise measure in the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. That act, sir, I will show to you—if it ever was committed by the slave power—to have been a suicidal act. What need was there for repealing that Compromise, or of admitting slavery into Kansas *by law*? Was not the South sure enough of the Territory as it was before? I think—and this is my honest conviction—that had it not been for that act, Kansas would have been inevitably a slave State. We of the North had no particular interest in that Territory. It was put down in our geographies as the great American desert. We had not considered it of much importance; but we relied on the *law* to keep slavery out of it, and to preserve it to freedom. We of the North have had too high an idea of the power of the General Government and of *law*, either *for* free-

dom or *against* freedom. Sir, this General Government has but little power over this question. It is not a *motive power*. It is only a *registry*, an exponent of power. It is the log-book of the ship of State, and not the steam-engine that propels the ship, or the wind that fills the canvas. We would like to have the log-book kept right, to show us our true position; but we do not now consider the Government as the motive power. The motive power of this nation, as of all nations, is the people in their homes; and as the people in their homes are, so is your character and so is your progress. If the people in their homes in Kansas had been pro-slavery, what could the North have opposed to it? It was emigration, and emigration only, that could have made Kansas a State, either slave or free. The great law that governs emigration is this: that emigration follows the parallels of latitude westward. Under that law, Kansas would have been settled entirely by a pro-slavery people, as was the southern part of Indiana, and as was the southern part of Illinois. We in the North, trusting in the protection of the law, would have had no remedy. People in favor of slavery would have gone there, and if they were compelled at first to adopt a free Constitution in order to shape their institutions according to any law concerning the Territory, they might have soon reversed that position. In fact, the decision of the Supreme Court has now made any such thing unnecessary. They might have formed just such a Constitution as they pleased. Well, then, we would thus, in all probability, have had Kansas a slave State without the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. But the passage of that bill, if slavery had been certain before, *seemed* to the majority of the people in the North to make it almost inevitable. History warranted this fear. Judging from the case of Indiana, there seemed to be no chance whatever for freedom in Kansas, after the opportunity for slavery to enter there had been given. There was Missouri on the confines of the Territory—and the most densely peopled portion of Missouri, too. Freedom-loving men, desiring to go to that Territory, would have had to travel hundreds and thousands of miles. The men who lived on the line of Kansas, as well as other Southern men who entertained the same idea—though they did not express it then, for fear of losing the bill—anticipated that the passage of the bill would settle the question for slavery in Kansas forever. That was the evidence of the early history of Indiana.

When that Territory was opened for settlement, a few slave-holders, perhaps a dozen or a score, went over from Kentucky, and, contrary to the wishes both of the President and Congress, contrary to the ordinance of 1787, established slavery; and they obtained such control over that young Territory that petitions, signed by many of the inhabitants, praying Congress to suspend the prohibition of slavery, were presented to Congress, year after year, from 1803 to 1807. These few slave-holders of the Territory of Indiana acquired such control over the inhabitants of that Territory, because they were an organization, as slavery is everywhere and at all times an organization. It was a concentration of capital, a concentration of influence, and a concentration of power, which our emigrants from the free States, coming one by one, were unable to resist; and had it not been for the overwhelming population which poured in from the North in 1807 and 1808, the prohibition of slavery would have been suspended. Had it not been for John Randolph, it would have been suspended in 1803; and had it not been for Mr. Franklin in the Senate, it might have been suspended in 1807; and both of these were Southern men.

"Well, sir, I have said that slave-holders are everywhere an organization. There is a community of interest, a bond of feeling and of sympathy, which combines and concentrates all efforts to defend slavery where it is, and to extend it to places where it is not. I will quote from the last number of *De Bow's Review*, everywhere acknowledged to be good Southern authority. In an article defending the New England Emigrant Aid Company, the writer says:

"'We of the South have been practising "Organized Emigration" for a century, and hence have outstripped the North in the acquisition of land. The owner of a hundred slaves, who, with his overseer, moves to the West, carries out a self-supporting, self-insuring, well-organized community. This is the sort of "Organized Emigration" which experience shows suits the South and the negro race, whilst Mr. Thayer's is equally well adapted to the whites.'

"Then, what fault can be found with our efforts to organize freedom by means of our emigrant aid societies, that enable our citizens to go to the Territories in companies of twenty, fifty, one hundred, or two hundred, to take possession of the West,

and to locate there the institutions under which they choose to live?

"And here I come to the defence of this association. It has been assailed, time and again, on this floor, and I have never been allowed even the privilege of putting questions to its assailants. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Anderson] called it 'illegal and unconstitutional.' It has been so assailed by the successor of Millard Fillmore. But where is the proof? Which of its acts has been shown to be illegal or unconstitutional? If it was illegal and unconstitutional, why has not the organization been crushed by the courts? We contend that any organization which is allowed to continue its existence from year to year, and to carry on its business, has the presumption, at least, of a legal right to do so. We claim that for the Emigrant Aid Company.

"But the gentleman from Missouri professes to have authority in regard to this matter. He has said that we *may* employ this emigrant aid society in promoting emigration to Central America and to foreign countries, but that we must '*beware*' how we do so in colonizing the Territories of this Government. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman from Missouri has any authority in these premises I hope he will exercise it. I ask him to publish a hand-book for emigrants, telling us *how* we may go into a Territory; whether we *may* ride or *must* go on foot; whether we *may* take our wives and children with us, or *must* leave them at home; whether we *may* take some of our neighbors with us, with their agricultural implements and steam-engines, or whether we *must* go into the Territories without any neighbors whatever; whether we *may* get horses or oxen from the free States, or whether we *must* content ourselves to take mules from the State of Missouri. [Laughter.]

"Now, sir, let us have not only the book, but the reasons for it. Let us know how far we may go, according to the law, in this matter of emigration. I recommend the gentleman from Missouri to take some lessons from the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Quitman] on the rights of emigration. I think he can get broader views upon this subject if he will consult that gentleman, and I think he will allow Northern men to go to the places which they have a right to go to by the law of this land, in such society, if it be law-abiding, as they may choose to select for themselves.

"I have said that the great general law of emigration is that the emigrants shall follow the parallels of latitude in this country. There are some exceptions to this. The gold in California led our emigrants from the extreme north across many parallels of latitude. That was a sufficient disturbing cause. The existence of slavery in the slave States of this country has driven thirty-five out of every hundred emigrants across Northern parallels to the free States of the Union. That was another great and powerful cause. But there is another cause sufficient to carry emigration southward over parallels of latitude. That is, the argument of cheap lands, with the additional advantage of organized emigration. The objections that have heretofore existed among Northern men to settling in Southern States are, by this mode of emigrating, entirely obviated. The Northern man, with his family of children, would not heretofore go into a Southern State in the absence of schools and churches. But when, combined with one or two hundred or one or two thousand of his friends and neighbors, he goes into a slave State, he carries with him schools and churches and the mechanic arts, all these difficulties are obviated; and, besides, he has the inducement of going where the land can be bought at slave-State prices, in the expectation of finding it come up probably in a few years to free-State prices, which are five or six times greater than slave-State prices. Here is the great inducement of increasing wealth. Let a colony start from Massachusetts, and settle on almost any land in the State of Virginia—in Greenville, Southampton, Dinwiddie, or Accomack, where the lands do not average so high as three dollars an acre, by the census of 1850—and the very day they settle there the value of the land is more than doubled. There is better land for sale to-day in Tennessee and North Carolina, for fifty cents per acre, than can be bought for ten times that sum in any free State.

"How can such an appeal to the emigrating population of the North, in favor of organized emigration to the slave States, be resisted? I know of no means of resisting it. Certainly *you* can have no reason for resisting it, but every reason to encourage it. We do not come as your enemies; we come as your friends. We do not come to violate your laws, but to improve our own condition. This movement southward is destined to continue and to increase. Sir, if slavery were as sacred as the

Ark of the Covenant, and if it were defended by angels, I doubt whether it could withstand the progress of this age and the money-making tendencies of the Yankee. But it is *not* as sacred as the Ark of the Covenant, and nobody believes that it is defended by angels.

"But, sir, there begins to be an enlightened idea in these border slave States upon this subject. A year ago, when I proposed to plant a few colonies in Virginia, several journals in the Old Dominion threatened me with hemp and grape-vine if I should ever set foot in that Territory. Well, I thought I would make the experiment. I went into western Virginia and into eastern Kentucky. I addressed numerous audiences in both of those States, and everywhere where I asked the people if they had any objection to their land being worth four or five times what it was, they said 'No.' [Laughter.] I asked them if they had any objection to the manufacture of ploughs and wagons in Wayne County. There never had been a manufacturing establishment between the Big Sandy and Guyandotte. Though no portion of this continent is better situated for manufacturing purposes—having more than thirty thousand miles of river communication, which affords cheap transportation to the best markets, with a healthful climate and inexhaustible supplies of coal and iron and timber of the best quality—yet every manufactured article was imported into this natural paradise of mechanics. There was not a newspaper published between the two rivers. I asked if they had any objection to a good, substantial, business newspaper published there, and to have schools and churches and the mechanic arts established in that county. With one voice they replied: 'None, whatever. We welcome you to our county, and to all its advantages.' This was a generous and manly reception, worthy of the history of the Old Dominion. At every meeting we were welcomed by the unanimous voice of the people; and now I believe that there are at least twelve newspapers in the State of Virginia advocating these colonies coming into the State. The sagacious statesman who is the Governor of the Old Dominion gives us a general and most cordial welcome. Well, the prospect is very good and inviting; and if there is any danger of a dissolution of the Union —in fact, if there is any weak spot in the Union—I think it would be a good thing to patch it over with an additional layer

of population. [Applause.] There never would be any disunion if we could only attend to it, and see where the weak places are, and mend them in time.

"But there is another exception to the rule I have laid down. Central America will prove abundantly sufficient to carry emigration southward, even across many parallels of latitude. She offers the grand inducements of commerce, of a climate unsurpassed in salubrity (in the central and Pacific portions), of a fertile soil, which yields three crops a year, and, more than all, lands so cheap that every man may buy. We have already begun to move, and what to some men seemed to be the umbilical cord of an embryo Southern Empire is likely, by these means, to be cut off, if it is not cut off already. [Laughter.] Everybody knows the physiological consequences.

"Well, sir, I wish now to say that there is a higher power than man's in relation to this matter of freedom in Kansas. It seemed at first to the whole North that the project of establishing slavery there would exclude freedom, and the whole North was intimidated by it. There was the greatest reluctance manifested to emigration in that direction from the North. Everywhere there was fear; everywhere despair.

> "'As they drifted on their path
> There was silence deep as death,
> And the boldest held his breath
> For a time.'

"Six months of persistent effort in writing and speaking were required to induce the first colony of only thirty men to go to Kansas. The people had become impressed with the idea that Kansas was destined to be a slave State; but as soon as the first colony had reached that Territory, and had founded the famous city of Lawrence, the whole train of Northern emigration was turned from Nebraska and from Minnesota to Kansas. And they have filled Kansas with free-State men—such men as are fitted for the high position they occupy; for Kansas is the geographical centre of our possessions. Its position in itself makes it the arbiter of our fate in all coming time, destined to give law to all between the Missouri River and the golden gates of the Pacific, and to make its power felt all the way between the British possessions and the Gulf of Mexico. Never were more

noble men needed for a more noble work. It was necessary that Plymouth Rock should repeat itself in Kansas. The Puritan character was needed there; but how could it be had, except by such discipline as made the Puritans; for if it was necessary that they should be elevated like the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, it was also necessary that they should have the training of the Pilgrim Fathers. They were peculiar in their early history, and peculiar in their late history. They had their early education among the rocks and mountains of New England. I have known of great men in times past, who came from the forest, who came from hills and mountains, but I never have known them to be raised on Wilton carpets. These men received their early training among the rugged hills of New England, where they waged incessant war on ice and granite, on snow and gravel-stones. It is there where they acquired their energy and their power. And, sir, I think the Yankee race has at least an octave more compass than any other nation on earth. I *know* a Yankee doughface is half an octave meaner than any other man. [Laughter.]

"Sir, some of the best of this Yankee race went to Kansas. They were stigmatized, six months before they arrived there, as thieves and paupers. Well, if such men as those who have built Lawrence, and Topeka, and Manhattan, and Ossawatomie, and Quindaro, were thieves and paupers, what do you think we respectable, well-to-do people will accomplish in the Old Dominion, where we are now becoming acquainted with some of the 'first families'? These free-State men of Kansas have been reviled by their inferiors at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue many times during the last three years. The other day, in the other end of this Capitol, such men were denominated slaves. Sir, we are slaves! I admit it; but our only master is the Great Jehovah. These heroes in Kansas having for their ancestors the Pilgrim Fathers, 'sons of sires who baffled crowned and mitred tyranny,' disciplined in their early years by the rugged teachings of adversity, seem to have been well prepared for their high mission.

"But the discipline of worthy example, of New England education, and of poverty and adversity, were not enough. The discipline of tyranny was requisite for their perfection. This discipline has been of use in all ages of the world. David was not

fit to rule over Israel until he had been hunted like a 'partridge in the mountains' by the envious and malignant Saul. Brutus was not fitted to expel the Tarquins until he had endured their tyranny for years. What would Moses have done but for Pharaoh? Where would have been the Reformers of the sixteenth century, where the Puritans in the seventeenth, and the Patriots in the eighteenth, but for Leo the Tenth, Charles the First, and George the Third? But Charles the First lost his head, and George the Third his colonies, for less tyranny than has been practised upon the people of Kansas by the two successors of Millard Fillmore. If we thank God for patriots, we should also thank him for tyrants; for what great achievements have patriots ever made without the stimulus of tyranny? Without vice, virtue itself must be insipid; and without wicked and mean men there could be no heroes.

"The brave man rejoices in the opposition of the enemy of his rights. Wicked and mean men are the stepping-stones on which the good and great ascend to heaven and immortal fame.

"These miscreants, cursed both by God and man, subserve important interests. The sacred volume which unfolds to us the life and sufferings of the Saviour of men makes record also of Pontius Pilate and of Judas Iscariot as necessary agencies in that great redemption.

"So I will denounce no man who has fought against freedom in Kansas as entirely useless in the grand result. But what a team to draw the chariots of freedom! Atchison and Stringfellow and John Calhoun, with the two successors of Millard Fillmore to lift at the wheels."

APPENDIX II.

SPEECH ON THE CENTRAL AMERICAN QUESTION.

THE following speech, on the "Central America" question, was delivered January 7, 1858.

The Southern representatives had occupied the floor several days upon this matter, and had appointed a committee "to report whether the soil and climate of Central America were adapted to the people of the Southern States of the Union."

No speech except this was made by a Northern representative. The committee never reported, and there was not another word said upon the subject. Mr. Thayer said:

"MR. CHAIRMAN,—It is my purpose to offer an amendment to the resolution which is now before the committee, for the purpose of widening the proposed investigation. I do not intend to discuss at all the topics which the committee has been considering during the past three days. I am not here to consider whether Mr. Walker was legally or illegally arrested, or whether Commodore Paulding is to be censured or applauded for his action. I shall express no sympathy with the course pursued by the President. I have no intention to discuss his position in relation to this matter, neither is it my purpose to enter the lists with the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Maynard], who eulogized the heroism of Mr. Walker—a man who, claiming to be the President of Nicaragua, and to represent in his own person the sovereignty of that State, surrendered without a protest, and without a blow, to a power upon his own soil, which he claimed to be an invading force. Whether this be heroism I shall not now inquire.

"I thrust aside, for the present, all questions of legal technicality in this matter; all the mysteries of the construction of the neutrality laws; all these questions which have engrossed the attention of the House during the last three days, and concerning which everybody has been speaking, and nobody caring, and I come to that great, paramount, transcendent question about which everybody is caring and nobody is speaking: 'How shall we Americanize Central America?'

"It may be a matter of surprise that I pass over two or three questions which, in their natural order, seem to be antecedent to this one. And these questions are: First, Do we *wish* to Americanize Central America? Secondly, *Can* we Americanize Central America? Thirdly, *Shall* we Americanize Central America?

"Now, Mr. Chairman, I say that whoever has studied the history of this country, and whoever knows the character of this people, and whoever can infer their destiny from their character and their history, knows that these three preliminary questions are already answered by the American people—that we *do wish* to Americanize Central America; that we *can* Americanize Central America; and that we *shall* Americanize Central America.

"And now, Mr. Chairman, in relation to the manner and agency. *How* can we Americanize Central America? Shall we do it legally and fairly, or illegally and unfairly? Shall we do it by conferring a benefit on the people of Central America, or shall we do it by conquest, by robbery, and violence? Shall we do it without abandoning national laws, and without violating our treaty stipulations? Shall we do it in accordance with the law of nations and the laws of the United States, or shall we do it by force, blood, and fire?

"Now, Mr. Chairman, my position is this: that we will do it legally; that we will do it in accordance with the highest laws, human and divine.

"Then, sir, by what agency may we thus Americanize Central America? I reply to the question, by the power of organized emigration. That is abundantly able to give us Central America as soon as we want it. We could have Americanized Central America half a dozen times by this power within the last three years, if there had been no danger or apprehension of meddlesome or vexatious executive interference. But if we are to use this mighty power of organized emigration, we want a different

kind of neutrality laws from those which we now have; and, therefore, I am desirous that this committee shall recommend something which shall not subject us to the misconstruction of the President of the United States, or to his construction at all. I want these neutrality laws so plain that every man may know whether he is in the right or in the wrong, whether he is violating those laws or is not violating them. For, Mr. Chairman, with our new-fashioned kind of emigration, with our organized emigration, which goes in colonies, and therefore must, of necessity, to some extent resemble a military organization, there is great danger that a President with a dim intellect may make a mistake, and subject to harassing and vexatious delays, and sometimes to loss and injury, a peaceful, quiet colony going out to settle in a neighboring State.

"Mr. Chairman, I can illustrate this position. You, sir, remember that in the year 1856, when it was *bad travelling* across the State of Missouri, on the way to Kansas, our colonies went through the State of Iowa, and through the Territory of Nebraska. These were peaceful, quiet colonies going to settle in the Territory of Kansas by that long and wearisome journey, because it was *bad travelling* through the State of Missouri. *You* remember that one of these colonies of organized emigrants, which went from Maine and Massachusetts, and from various other Northern States, was arrested just as it was passing over the southern boundary of the Territory of Nebraska, on its way to its future home in Kansas. It was a peaceful, quiet colony, going out with its emigrant wagons, 'all in a row,' and, therefore, looking something like a military organization; going out with their women and their children, with subsoil-ploughs with colters a yard long [laughter], with pickaxes, with crow-bars, with shovels, and with garden-seeds. This beautiful colony was arrested by the officials of the present Executive's predecessor. It was by some mistake, no doubt. Perhaps he took the turnip-seed for powder; and I doubt whether the case would have been better if the President had been there himself. This colony was arrested within our own dominion. It was not an emigration to a foreign country, and there was no danger of interference with the neutrality laws. These quiet, peaceful colonists, because their wagons went in a row for mutual defence through the wild, uncultivated Territory of Nebraska, where there were Indians,

they were arrested as a military organization. We do not want, hereafter, either within the limits of the United States or without them, any such meddlesome and vexatious interference by the executive power of this Government. Therefore, I say, let us have some neutrality laws that can be understood. If there had been no apprehensions in the North about the neutrality laws, if we had not expected that whatever emigration we might have fitted out for Central America would have been arrested within the marine league of the harbor of Boston, why, we would have colonized Central America years ago, and had it ready for admission into the Union before this time. We want a modification or an elucidation of the neutrality laws, and I trust that it will be the duty of the committee so to report.

"Before I proceed to consider the power and benefits of this system of organized emigration, and the reason why it ought not to be rejected by this House, I will proceed, as briefly as I can, to show the interests which the Northern portion of this country has in Americanizing Central America, as contrasted with the interests which the Southern portion has in doing the same thing. I come, then, to speak of the immense interests which the Northern States have in this proposed enterprise. I am astonished that so far in this debate the advocates for Americanizing Central America seem to be mostly from those States which border on the Gulf of Mexico. As yet, I have heard no man from the Northern States advocating the same thing. Let us look at the interests of the Northern States in this question, and then at those of the Southern States.

"These Northern States are, as the States of Northern Europe were designated by Tacitus, *officina gentium*, 'the manufactory of nations.' We can make one State a year. In the last three years we have colonized almost wholly the Territory of Kansas. We have furnished settlers to Minnesota and Nebraska, and the Lord knows where, but we have not exhausted one-half of our natural increase. We have received accessions to our numbers in that time, from foreign countries of more than one million of souls, and now we have no relief; we are worse off to-day than we were when we began to colonize Kansas. We must have an outlet somewhere for our surplus population. [Laughter.]

"Sir, I have a resolution in my pocket, which I have been

carrying about for days, waiting patiently for an opportunity to present it in this House, instructing the Committee on Territories to report a bill organizing and opening for settlement the Indian Territory. Mr. Chairman, I came to this conclusion with reluctance, that we must have the Indian Territory. But necessity knows no law. We must go somewhere. Something must be opened to the descendants of the Pilgrims. [Laughter.] Why, sir, just look at it. We are crammed in between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The bounding billows of our emigration are dashing fiercely against both sides of the Rocky Mountains. Obstructed now by these barriers, this westward-moving tide begins to set back. Will it flow towards Canada? Not at all. It has already begun to flow over the 'Old Dominion' [laughter], and into other States. Missouri is almost inundated with it. We cannot check this tide of flowing emigration. You might as well try to shut out from this continent, by curtains, the light of the aurora borealis. No such thing can be accomplished. This progress must be onward, and we *must* have territory. We must have territory; and I think it most opportune that the proposition seems to be before the country to Americanize Central America. A better time could not be; for, in addition to the population which we now have, which is immense in the Northern States, as I shall show you in proceeding, this financial pressure in the East, and in the different nations of Europe, will send to our shores in the year 1858 not less than half a million of men. In addition to that, we have two hundred and fifty thousand of our own population who will change localities in that time. Then, sir, there are seven hundred and fifty thousand men to be prepared for, somewhere, in the year 1858—men enough, sir, to make eight States, if we only had Territories in which to put them, and if we only use them economically [laughter], as we are sure to do by this system of organized emigration.

"Now, could anything be more opportune, at this time, than to have this project submitted to us, of opening Central America to settlement? I assure you, if the committee will report any bill which will enable the people of the North, without larceny of any kind, without tyranny of any kind, to settle that country, I will postpone my resolution for the opening of the Indian Territory, at least until the next session of Congress.

"But it is not only for the purpose of furnishing an outlet for our immense population in the North that I now advocate the Americanizing of Central America. The interests of commerce, as well as this great argument of necessity, are on our side. Who has the trade beyond Central America? We have whale-fisheries in the Northern Ocean, which build up great cities upon the eastern shore of Massachusetts. We have trade with Oregon and California, with the Sandwich Islands, and the western coast of South America. We are opening a trade, destined to be an immense trade, with the empires of China and Japan, and we must of necessity have in Central America certain factors and certain commercial agencies, who, in a very few years, with their families and relatives and dependants, will make a dense population. I say, then, that for the interests of commerce we want Central America Americanized. This commercial interest is, unfortunately, a sectional interest in these States. It is, emphatically, a Northern interest; and therefore, as a Northern man, I advocate especially that Central America should be Americanized.

"Now, sir, I said I was astonished that gentlemen who come from States bordering upon the Gulf had advocated this project, and not the representatives who come from Northern States. Let us see the reason why the North should be more zealous than the South in this movement. In the State of Massachusetts we have one hundred and twenty-seven people to a square mile, by the census of 1850. In the State of Rhode Island we have one hundred and twelve to the square mile, by the same census. In the State of Connecticut we have seventy-nine. In the State of New York we have sixty-five. So, you see, it was not fiction, it was not poetry, not a stretch of the imagination, when I told you that the descendants of the Pilgrims were in a tight place. [Laughter.]

"But how is it with the States which border upon the Gulf? Look at it and see. They have, some of them, eighty-nine hundredths of a man to the square mile. [Laughter.] In another one we have one and the forty-eight hundredth part of a man to the square mile; and, taking them all together, we have just about three men to the square mile in all those States which border upon the Gulf of Mexico.

"Now, sir, it would be folly for me to argue, and there is no kind of reason for supposing, that these States expect to do

anything about colonizing Central America. They cannot afford to lose a man. They had better give away two thousand dollars than to lose a single honest, industrious citizen. They cannot afford it. I have left out of this calculation, to be sure, the enumeration of the slaves in those States, for the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Maynard] informed us that the question of slavery did not come into this argument properly, and I agree with him there. I think he may agree with me, that by no possibility *can* slavery ever be established in Central America. That is my belief. Just fix your neutrality laws, and we will fill up Central America before 1860 sufficiently to be comfortable."

Mr. MAYNARD. "With the permission of the gentleman, I desire to ask him whether he will pledge himself for his constituents, and for all those he represents, that when they get down there they will not make slaves of the people they find there?"

Mr. THAYER. "Certainly I will do it; and I will say more on that subject hereafter. I will say to the gentlemen upon the other side who have advocated this right of emigration, and have no personal interest in this matter, that they can have no pecuniary interest in it, for they have no men to spare for this enterprise. And especially do I honor the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Quitman], who professed to be moved by arguments of philanthropy in relation to this question, and who maintained that the people of Central America were oppressed, that they needed our assistance, and that it was conferring a benefit upon them to send out colonies among them to aid them to get rid of their oppressors. This is more than patriotism. It approaches universal brotherhood. I am glad that that gentleman is defending the rights of emigration. No man prizes those rights more highly than I do. I think that I understand their power and their value, and I am glad to welcome among the list of political regenerators the gentleman from Mississippi with such large, wide, and noble views upon this question. I do not here indorse his whole speech. I did not hear the whole of it. I do not know what he said about Mr. Walker, whether he defends him or whether he does not. For myself, I do not say that I defend him, or that I do not, at this time. I wait for the report of our committee, to know what are the facts in this case, and whether he is fit to be defended or not.

"Now, sir, I am rejoiced that I have found aid and comfort

in a great political missionary movement from a quarter where I least expected it. This argument of philanthropy is sufficiently potent with the South; while I will not deny that it is always more or less potent with the North, perhaps not so potent with the North as with the South—very likely we are more material and less spiritual—but still, I say, it has some power at the North. We do not live so near the sun as do those gentlemen who border on the Gulf; but we live near enough to the sun to have some warmth in our hearts, and the appeals of philanthropy to us are not made in vain.

"But, in addition to that, just look at it, sir! In addition to that great argument of philanthropy, we have not only the argument of necessity, but the argument of making money; and when you take those three arguments, and combine them, you make a great motive power, which is sufficient, in ordinary cases, to move Northern men, though they are not very mobile nor very fickle.

"So much, Mr. Chairman, for the comparison of interests between the Northern and Southern people of these United States in relation to the Americanizing of Central America.

"I come now to discuss, briefly, the power and benefits of this new mode of emigration. And, sir, what is its power? I tell you its power is greater than that which is wielded by any potentate or emperor upon the face of God's footstool. If we can form a company, or a number of companies, which can control the emigration of this country—the foreign emigration and native emigration—I tell you, sir, that that company, or those companies, will have more power than any potentate or emperor upon the face of the earth; and that company, or those companies, may laugh at politicians; they may laugh, sir, at the President and his Cabinet; at the Supreme Court, and at Congress; for all these powers of the Government, great and mighty as they are, can do nothing, in accordance with the Constitution of this land, which can in any way interfere with our progress, or prevent our making cities and States and nations wherever and whenever we please. Then, sir, there can be no doubt about the power of this agency, which, I tell you, is the right one for us to make use of in getting Central America if we want it, or in Americanizing Central America, as we are sure to do.

"Now, Mr. Chairman, I have said nothing about annexing Central America to the United States. For myself, I care noth-

ing about it, and I do not know whether the people of this country are ready for that proposition yet. I think, however, they would rather annex a thousand square leagues of territory than to lose a single square foot. To be sure, sir, we have a few men in the North who honestly hate this Union. I will not criticise their views. I will not condemn them for their views. They have a right to cherish just what views they please in relation to this question. Sir, there are still a larger number of sour and disappointed politicians, who, though they do not profess hatred to this Union, do, to a certain extent, profess indifference as to its continuance. But the great and overwhelming majority of the people of the North, sir, as a unit, are determined that *no force*, internal or external, shall ever wrest from the jurisdiction of the United States a single square foot of our territory, unless it first be baptized in blood and fire. That is the sentiment of the great majority of the people of the North—that no portion of the territory of this Government shall ever be released from our possession. We understand that this Union is a partnership for life, and that the bonds that hold us together cannot by any fatuity be sundered until this great Government is first extinguished and its power annihilated. That, sir, is our sentiment about the Union, and such may be the present sentiment about annexation. But I have no doubt what the future sentiment of the country will be about annexation. I have no doubt we will have Central America in this Government, and all between this and Central America also.

"Well, sir, we have now come to the grand missionary age of the world, in which we do not send our preachers alone, perplexing people who are in ignorance and barbarism with abstract theological dogmas; but with the preachers we send the church, we send the school, we send the mechanic and the farmer; we send all that makes up great and flourishing communities; we send the powers that build cities; we send steam-engines, sir, which are the greatest apostles of liberty that this country has ever seen. That is the modern kind of missionary emigration, and it has wonderful power on this continent, and is destined to have on the world, too, for it is just as good against one kind of evil as another; and it can just as well be exerted against idol worship in Hindostan and China as against oppression and despotism in Central America.

"But we take the countries that are nearest first; and now we propose to use this mighty power in originating a nation in quick time for Central America. We read of a time when 'a nation shall be born in a day.' I think it may be done in some such way as this. By this method of emigration the pioneer does not go into the wilderness

> "'*Alone*, unfriended, melancholy, slow,
> Dragging at each remove a length'ning chain,'

stealing away from the institutions of religion and education, himself and family; but Christianity herself goes hand in hand with the pioneer; and not Christianity alone, but the offspring of Christianity, an awakened intelligence, and all the inventions of which she is the mother; creating all the differences between an advanced and enlightened community and one in degradation and ignorance. Sir, in years gone by our emigration has ever tended towards barbarism; but now, by this method, it is tending to a higher civilization than we have ever witnessed. Why, sir, by this plan a new community starts on as high a plane as the old one had ever arrived at; and leaving behind the dead and decayed branches which encumbered the old, with the vigorous energies of youth it presses on and ascends. Sir, such a State will be the State of Kansas, eclipsing in its progress all the other States of this nation, because it was colonized in this way. The people, in this way, have not to serve half a century of probation in semi-barbarism. They begin with schools and churches, and you will see what the effect is upon communities that are so established.

"But I will speak now of that which constitutes the peculiar strength of emigration of this kind; and that is *the profit of the thing*. I have shown you how efficient it is, and I will now show you how the method works, to some extent. It is profitable for every one connected with it; it is profitable to the people where the colonies go; it is profitable to the people of the colonies; and it is profitable to the company, which is the guiding star and the protecting power of the colonies. It does good everywhere. It does evil nowhere.

"Sir, you cannot resist a power like this. A good man often feels regret when he knows that by promoting a good cause he is at the same time sacrificing his own means of doing good, and

is becoming weaker and weaker every day. It is a great drawback upon beneficent enterprises, even upon philanthropic and Christian enterprises, that the men who sustain them are lessening their own means of doing good by it. Sir, it is a great mistake to suppose that a good cause can only be sustained by the life-blood of its friends. But when a man can do a magnanimous act, when he can do a decidedly good thing, and at the same time make money by it, all his faculties are in harmony. [Laughter.] You do not need any great argument to induce men to take such a position, if you can only induce them to believe that such is the effect. Well, sir, such is the effect; and now let us apply it to the people of Central America. What reason will they have to complain, if we send among them our colonies, organized in this way, with their subsoil-ploughs, their crow-bars, their hoes, their shovels, and their garden-seeds? What reason will they have to complain? Why, the fact is that unless our civilization is superior to theirs, the effort would, in the beginning, be a failure; it never can make one inch of progress. Then, sir, if we succeed at all, we succeed in planting a civilization there which is superior to theirs; we plant *that* or none. It is impossible for an inferior civilization to supplant a superior civilization except by violence, and it is almost impossible to do it in that way.

"Well, sir, if we give them a better civilization, the tendency of that better civilization is to increase the value of real estate; for the value of property, the value of real estate, depends upon the character of the men who live upon the land, as well as upon the number of men who live upon it. Now, sir, we either make an absolute failure in this thing, and do not trouble them at all, or we give them a better civilization, and, in addition to that, we give them wealth.

"Thus, sir, with bands of steel we bind the people of Central America to us and to our interests, by going among them in this way; and they cannot have reason to complain, nor will they complain. If we had approached them in this way two years ago, without this miserable, meddlesome method, induced and warranted, or supposed to be warranted, by the neutrality laws, we should have filled Central America to overflowing by this time, and should have had with us the blessings of every native citizen in that portion of country.

"Now, sir, if such is the way, if such is the power, if such is the effect of this method to the emigrants, and to the people among whom they settle, why should we not now adopt it in reference to Central America? And what is the method? Why, it is as plain and simple as it can be. It is just to form a money-eyed corporation which shall have two hundred thousand dollars capital; which shall then obtain and spread information through the country by publications indicating what are the natural resources of Central America, and the inducements to emigrate thither; showing how it is situated in relation to commerce, and how, of necessity, there must speedily be built upon that soil a flourishing commonwealth. Then you have to apply a portion of these means to buying land and to sending out steam-engines, and to building some hotels to accommodate the people who go there, and also some receiving-houses for the emigrants. Establish there, and encourage there the establishment of the mechanic arts, and I tell you that every steam-engine you send there will be the seat of a flourishing town: every one will be an argument for people to go there; for they talk louder than individuals a thousand times, and they are more convincing a thousand times, especially to an ignorant and degraded people, than anything men can say, because the argument is addressed to the senses; it makes them feel comfortable; it gives them good clothes; it gives them money. These are the arguments to address to an ignorant and degraded people, and not cannon-balls, or rifle-balls, nor yet mere abstract dogmas about liberty or theology. Then let this company be organized so soon as you fix these neutrality laws, so that we can get off without these vexatious executive interferences. [Laughter.] Then we shall see how the thing will work in Central America.

"But, sir, I expect when the people of the North shall hear that I am taking this view of the question, that the timid will be intensely terrified, and say that we are to have more slave States annexed to the Union. I have not the slightest apprehension of that result. It may be said that Yankees, when they get down into Central America, will, if the climate is suited for it, make use of slave labor. I have heard that argument before; and it has been asserted that the Yankees who go into slave States oftentimes turn slave-holders, and outdo the Southern men themselves. I have no doubt that they outdo them, if they do anything in

that line at all. [Laughter.] The Yankee has never become a slave-holder unless he has been forced to it by the social relations of the slave State where he lived; and the Yankee who has become a slave-holder has, every day of his life thereafter, felt in his very bones the bad economy of the system. It could not be otherwise. Talk about our Yankees who go to Central America becoming slave-holders! Why, sir, we can buy a negro power in a steam-engine for ten dollars [laughter], and we can clothe and feed that power for one year for five dollars [renewed laughter]; and are we the men to give $1000 for an African slave, and $150 a year to feed and clothe him?

"No, sir. Setting aside the arguments about sentimentality and about philanthropy on this question, setting aside all poetry and fiction, he comes right down to the practical question—is it profitable? The Yankee replies, 'Not at all.' Then there is no danger of men who go from Boston to Central America ever owning slaves, unless they are compelled to by their social relations there. If a man goes from Boston into Louisiana, and nobody will speak to him unless he has a slave, nobody will invite him to a social entertainment unless he owns a negro; and if he cannot get a wife unless he has a negro, then, sir, very likely he may make up his mind to own a negro. [Laughter.] But I tell you that he will repent of it every day while he has him. He cannot whistle 'Yankee Doodle' with the same relish as before. He cannot whittle in the same free and easy manner. He used to cut with the grain, with the knife-edge from him; *now* he cuts across the grain with the knife-edge towards him. The doleful fact that he owns a negro is a tax upon every pulsation of his heart. Poor man! There is no inducement for the Yankees to spread slavery in Central America, and there is no power in any other part of the country to do it. Therefore, most fearlessly do I advocate the Americanizing of Central America. We must have some outlet for our overwhelming population. Necessity knows no law; and if we cannot have Central America we must have the Indian Territory; we must have something; we are not exhausted in our power of emigration; we are worse off than we were before the opening of Kansas. Not one-half of our natural increase has been exhausted in colonizing that Territory, and furnishing people for Oregon and Washington. We might, as I told you, make eight States a year, if we only used

our forces economically; and we will use them economically by establishing, not for the present time only, but for all coming time, this system of organized emigration. Just as fast as this has become understood in the country—just as far as it is known to the people—not a single man who has any sense will emigrate in any other way than by colonies. Just look at the difference between men going in a colony and going alone. Suppose a man goes to Central America, and settles there alone; what is his influence upon real estate by settling there alone? There is no appreciable difference from what it was before; but if he goes there with five hundred men from the city of Boston to establish a town, by that very act he has made himself wealthy. I can point to numerous examples of the kind. Hence this making money by organized emigration is not going to be speedily relinquished. Depend upon it that we have only begun to use it, and that we have not used it with the efficiency with which it will be used in a year to come.

"Now, sir, for these reasons I hope that the committee to which this question shall be referred will so modify and elucidate the neutrality laws that we shall not hereafter be subjected to this executive interference. And, in accordance with the views I have expressed, I now offer the following amendment:

"'And, also, that said committee report, so far as they may be able, the present social and political condition of the people of Nicaragua, and whether they invite colonies from the United States to settle among them; and, also, whether the soil, climate, and other natural advantages of that country are such as to encourage emigration thither from the Northern States of this confederacy.'

"Now, Mr. Chairman, I will state briefly my reasons for submitting that amendment. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Quitman] referred to the social and political condition of the people of Central America as a proper basis, I think he said, for our action. Therefore, with open arms, do we welcome that gentleman and his associates to our noble brotherhood of missionary political regenerators. For myself, I am willing to take the gentleman's words about the necessity of something being done to aid these people; but, in grave matters of legislation like this, the committee having the subject in charge should first fully investigate in reference to the matter suggested by my amendment.

"I do not intend any offensive sectionalism by using the word *Northern;* that the committee should inquire whether the natural advantages of soil and climate of Central America were such as to invite emigration thither from the *Northern* States. I so phrased the amendment because, as I have shown you, the Northern States are the only ones which can furnish emigration that would be of any consequence to Central America. We would be glad to receive whatever help the States on the Gulf could give us, but it is impossible for them to give much help in this work. And because the Northern States have the power in this matter, and because the Southern States have not the power, I have used the words, that the committee shall inquire specially whether the climate and the soil are such as to encourage emigration to Central America from the Northern States. If, however, there be objection to it, I will strike out the word 'Northern,' and leave the inquiry to be general."

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